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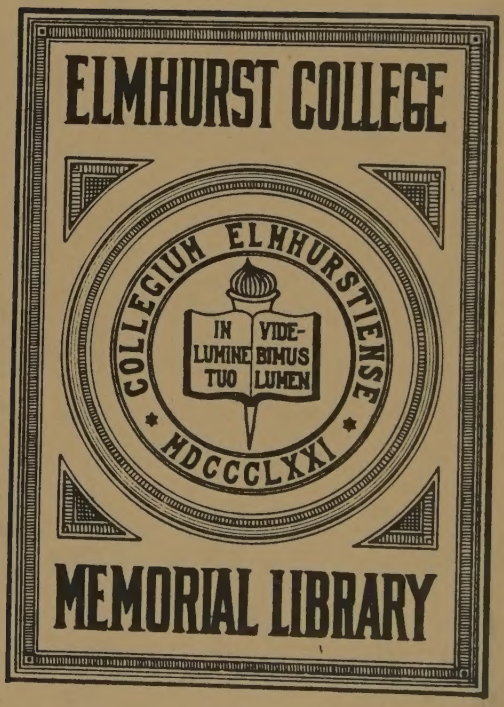
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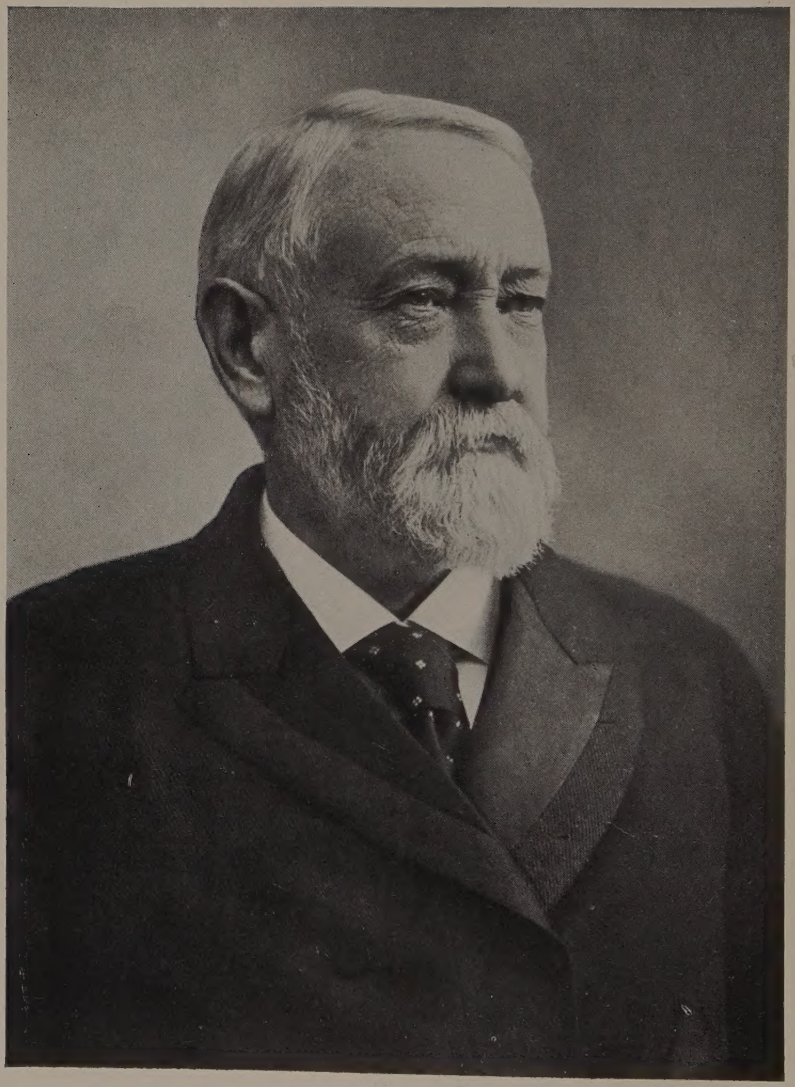

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BENJAMIN HARRISON

From Harrison to Harding

A Personal Narrative, Covering a Third of a Century

1888–1921

By

Arthur Wallace Dunn

Author of "Gridiron Nights"; "How Presidents are Made"

In Two Volumes

With Portraits

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From Harrison to Harding

From Harrison to Harding

CHAPTER I

BEGINNING A NEW ERA

Second Century of the Republic—Even Balance of Political Parties—Conventions of 1888—Harrison Defeats Cleveland—Tariff and Pensions Issues in the Campaign—New Administration with Republicans in Control of all Branches of the Government.

THE defeat of Grover Cleveland in 1888 and the inauguration of Benjamin Harrison as President in 1889 brought about a change in politics just as the American Republic was entering upon its second century under the Constitution. In April, 1889, the nation celebrated the 100th anniversary of the adoption of the great fundamental law under which thirteen small colonies on the Atlantic seaboard had grown into thirty-eight states and ten territories occupying a great part of the North American continent.

It was the beginning of a new era. Although the nation had long been at peace, the people prosperous, and the country rapidly developing, there was the first stirring of that social unrest which has steadily increased. Almost imperceptible changes were taking place. Much began to be heard of "advanced ideas"

and "progressive thought," but they were vague terms and made only a slight impression. The minds of the people were focused upon the change of parties—the retirement of Cleveland and the induction of Harrison. They did not then realize that beneath the surface of politics there were forces at work, which, controlling whatever party might be in power, would bring about changes not then deemed necessary or possible.

The country had long been upon an even keel, pursuing a course of development unhampered by any of the great events which disturb nations and shake thrones. Reconstruction as it was known after the Civil War had been checked by the Democratic sweep in the congressional elections of 1874. The war embers were smoldering and gradually dying. No nation had threatened either our territory or such commerce as we then had. For the most part we had been concerned wholly with our own affairs and our people were not looking beyond the shores of the Atlantic or Pacific for commercial activity. There was still enough of the Frontier, of wild western plains and forests, to appease the land hungry and no one talked of expansion.

The difference in party politics had not been very pronounced, save in regard to questions growing out of the war. Democrats had aided Republicans in the House in defeating Democratic tariff bills. Republicans in many western states were not sure whether they were for a high or a low tariff. The money question was not a partisan issue, men in both parties being for and against the free coinage of silver.

The rather anomalous political condition, wherein neither party had control in all the departments of the Government, had existed since March 4, 1875, a period of fourteen years. This was due in the first place to our form of government. It often happens that the Senate is controlled by one party while the other party is in power in the House. And it has often happened that the President is of one party while the Senate or the House may be of another. A landslide affecting the House of Representatives may not cause many changes in the Senate and, save in a presidential year, has no effect on the President. A further cause of the existing condition was the even balance between the political parties. In 1876, Hayes was declared elected by a majority of one in the electoral college, although Tilden had a majority of the popular vote. Garfield had a plurality of 7,018 votes in 1880. Cleveland had a plurality of 62,683 in 1884 and was elected because he carried New York by the small plurality of 1,143 votes. In 1888, the same even balance was maintained. Cleveland had a plurality of 98,017 of the popular vote, but was defeated because Harrison carried New York, although by less than 15,000 plurality.

At no time during those fourteen years did either Republicans or Democrats, while holding the Presidency, have a majority in both houses of Congress. During the two years between March 4, 1881, and March 3, 1883, there was a sort of nominal control by the Republicans in the Senate through the aid of independent Senators, but no actual majority or control

by the party which was in power in the House and had the Presidency.

The election of Harrison was a great surprise to the Democrats, and more especially to Cleveland. Cleveland had every reason to expect a re-election and the existing political conditions at the beginning of the campaign seemed to favor the Democrats.

It has generally been assumed that a midterm congressional election is a pretty fair index of the popularity of a President and his party, and shows whether or not he can be re-elected. If his party carries that election, success generally follows in the ensuing presidential contest. The election of 1886 was all that the Democrats could desire. The majority in the House was large enough, and it rested with that majority so to shape its politics as to continue the party in power.

Cleveland had no opposition in the convention at St. Louis in 1888. All Democrats united in his support. There was the usual contest over the tariff plank in the platform, but its wording was immaterial. The Mills bill in the House was the real tariff plank. This bill was the first Democratic tariff measure that had passed the House of Representatives since the Civil War, and it reduced duties all along the line and greatly enlarged the free list, particularly as to articles generally termed raw materials. The convention was almost without an interesting feature.

The Republican convention at Chicago in 1888 was anything but a tame affair. The parties were evenly enough balanced to make it probable that the right

kind of a man could defeat Cleveland and there was a very earnest effort made by several candidates to capture the nomination. John Sherman of Ohio was a candidate for the last time. Allison of Iowa, Alger of Michigan, and Depew of New York were aspirants. Benjamin Harrison of Indiana and Walter Q. Gresham, formerly of the same state but then a circuit judge living in Chicago, were candidates. Gresham was supported by what was then the progressive element in the Republican party.

After a long contest Harrison was nominated. The result was brought about by a combination of Republican leaders which included Platt of New York, Quay of Pennsylvania and Clarkson of Iowa. These leaders were able to swing large blocks of delegates to Harrison at a time when their support was most effective. Although Harrison was in private life at the time of the convention, he had been in the United States Senate and had the support of the Senators who were in the convention.

The campaign was fought on the tariff issue. Roger Q. Mills of Texas, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, had forced his bill through the House with much display of temper and bitter controversy, often with Thomas B. Reed of Maine, the minority leader. On the tariff issue alone it is possible that the Democrats might have won. But another issue, which Cleveland himself precipitated, was really responsible for his defeat.

From the beginning of his term Cleveland showed a

hostility toward pension legislation. In 1886, he vetoed 123 private pension bills out of 977 passed by Congress. He also vetoed the dependent pension bill. In 1887, occurred the flag order. The War Department ordered the return of the Confederate battle flags captured during the Civil War. This caused a great furor. Cleveland revoked the order, but on the ground that the return of the flags required legislative action and could not be done by executive order. Among the men who were fierce in the denunciation of the flag order was Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, who at that time earned the nickname of "Fire Alarm Joe" on account of the language he used. Time softens all things. Many years after Foraker introduced and pushed through Congress the bill which restored the flags to the southern states.

The flag incident and particularly the pension vetoes served to arouse animosities of the Civil War. The old soldiers and their friends were lined up for Harrison, who had been a brigadier general on the Union side, and the result was his election. And even then it was a close election. New York, the pivotal and deciding state, the Republicans carried by less than 15,000.

The success of the Republicans was due largely to the political sagacity of Matt Quay, the chairman of the national committee, ably assisted by Tom Platt, who was interested not only on account of a promise which had been made to him, but because he wanted the election of Levi P. Morton, his candidate for Vice President. It was in this election that Warner iller,

who had years before succeeded Platt in the Senate after he resigned with Roscoe Conkling, was defeated for Governor of New York. He was consoled by a dispatch from Harrison, who spoke of him as having "fallen outside the breastworks," a phrase often used in political literature in after years.

The closing days of the Cleveland administration were none the less brilliant because the President had been defeated. Mrs. Cleveland showed not the least sign of disappointment at the several White House entertainments at which she was hostess. The Cabinet officers' wives kept up their usual social activities and the home of Secretary William C. Whitney continued to be, as it had been during the entire administration, the center of attraction for the army of tuft hunters and social free lunch patrons who haunt Washington. The raids on the Whitney tables by these people were an interesting feature of the entertainments during the entire administration.

As the time drew near for the inauguration, attention turned from the Clevelands to the Harrisons, and the "Jenkinses" of that day almost sickened the people with their voluminous descriptions of the doings of "Baby McKee," Harrison's favorite grandchild.

Those who saw Harrison beside Cleveland on the day of inauguration noted the marked contrast between the men. Harrison was undersized, rather delicate-looking, his iron-gray beard worn in such a fashion as to give a concave appearance to his face. The man he succeeded was big, strong and robust.

Harrison began his presidential term with the fatal mistake of making James G. Blaine Secretary of State. Early in 1889 Blaine took occasion to pay a tribute to the President. He went out of his way to speak in high terms of Harrison and assert that he would be President of all the people. But it was difficult to make Blaine understand that it was Harrison's administration and not Blaine's. Mrs. Blaine also caused some disagreeable situations. She was particularly insistent that Colonel Coppinger, a Blaine son-in-law, should be jumped over many other colonels and made a brigadier general in the army. This and minor official appointments caused disagreements between the Harrisons and the Blaines. Mrs. Blaine was one person who told the President just what she thought of his treatment of his premier. She asserted that Harrison owed his place to Blaine's renunciation of the nomination in 1888.

The Cabinet outside of Blaine was well balanced, but neither brilliant nor exceptionally strong, and it soon became apparent that Harrison would himself attend to every important matter in the government. Cabinet members could look after details, but the big things were always taken to the President.

Harrison had been pictured in the campaign as a small man, mentally as well as physically, one of the caricatures showing him almost concealed under a "grandfather's hat," having reference to the hairy headgear worn at the time William Henry Harrison was elected President. As a matter of fact, Benjamin

Harrison was a much abler man than his grandfather, and ranks to-day as one of the creditable Presidents of the country.

His unfortunate manner was his greatest drawback; besides, he seemed suspicious of people, was noncommital in conversation, and often assumed a superior air which was exasperating to many who came in contact with him.

CHAPTER II

THE FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS

Speaker Reed Upsets the Precedents of One Hundred Years and Establishes a New System of Parliamentary Government—"Giants in Those Days"—Sharp Political Differences—Embers of Civil War Blaze for the Last Time—Three Men on the Political Horizon Who Afterward Became Presidents—Characteristics of Theodore Roosevelt—The Contest for Speaker.

IN 1889, the Fifty-first Congress assembled and there began a revolution in the parliamentary procedure which wiped out past precedents and established a code that bids fair to last as long as there is a Congress of the United States.

"You are upsetting the precedents of a hundred years," parliamentary sages told Thomas B. Reed, when, as Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress, he made new rulings and laid the foundation of a parliamentary reform in the House of Representatives.

"Yes, and I am establishing precedents for the next hundred years," was Reed's quick retort.

It was a great Congress, the Fifty-first. Its equal in collective intellect and individual ability has not since come together. In that Congress were men of the type developed in a great crisis. Years before the Civil War the sectional divisions and national perplexities

had developed a long list of statesmen whose names are a legacy to the nation. "There were giants in those days," is an old phrase frequently used in the references to men prominent in public life before, during, and immediately after the Civil War. The Fifty-first Congress did not see the last of the "giants," but they were a disappearing race of statesmen. It was the beginning of a deterioration which while gradual has been apparent. No group of men has assembled since in the national legislature like that of the Fifty-first Congress. The issues and interests of the nation have not been such as to attract men of the greatest ability towards a congressional career. Nor have the issues been such as to develop the high class of statesmen produced in that momentous period when the life of the nation hung in the balance.

When Congress met in 1889, there gathered in Washington men whose names will live in history. In the Senate on the Republican side were Edmunds and Morrill of Vermont, Sherman of Ohio, Hoar and Dawes of Massachusetts, Hale and Frye of Maine, Platt and Hawley of Connecticut, Aldrich of Rhode Island, Evarts of New York, Cullom of Illinois, Allison of Iowa, Quay and Cameron of Pennsylvania, Spooner of Wisconsin, Jones and Stewart of Nevada, Teller and Wolcott of Colorado, Ingalls and Plumb of Kansas, Stanford of California, Davis of Minnesota, Chandler and Blair of New Hampshire, Manderson of Nebraska. On the Democratic side were Beck and Blackburn of Kentucky, Gorman of Maryland, Gray of Delaware,

Cockrell and Vest of Missouri, Voorhees and Turpie of Indiana, Ransom and Vance of North Carolina, George and Walthall of Mississippi, Harris and Bate of Tennessee, Morgan and Pugh of Alabama, White of Louisiana, Jones of Arkansas, Coke and Reagan of Texas. All of those men were participants in or products of the Civil War.

In the House on the Republican side were Reed and Dingley of Maine; McKinley, Butterworth, Grosvenor, and Burton of Ohio; Burrows and Cutcheon of Michigan; Cannon, Rowell, Henderson, and Hitt of Illinois; Dolliver, Henderson and Conger of Iowa; Sherman and Payne of New York; Kelley, Dalzell and Bingham of Pennsylvania; McKenna of California; McComas of Maryland; Banks, Lodge and Cogswell of Massachusetts; Carter of Montana; La Follette of Wisconsin. On the Democratic side were Carlisle and Breckinridge of Kentucky; Breckinridge of Arkansas; Holman and Bynum of Indiana; Springer and Townshend of Illinois; Sunset Cox, Flower, Fitch and Spinola of New York; Joe Wheeler of Alabama; McMillin and Richardson of Tennessee; Crisp, Turner and Blount of Georgia; Chipman of Michigan; John Allen of Mississippi; Hatch, Stone, Bland and Dockery of Missouri; Outhwait of Ohio; Randall of Pennyslvania; Mills, Culberson and Kilgore of Texas; O'Ferrall of Virginia; Wilson of West Virginia. Many of these men and others not quite so prominent had served in the Civil War with distinction.

It was a time when the great war was still close enough to be a source of strife and bitterness. The

white men of the southern states had not long regained control of their governments. The negro was not entirely eliminated in the elections. The shotgun and tissue ballots still played a part in the elections and figured largely in the discussions of southern affairs. Negroes held seats in the House of Representatives and on several occasions during the session of the Fifty-first Congress white men of the South were ousted and their seats given to negroes. In the North there still existed a strong determination to make the Fifteenth Amendment effective and it found expression in the force bill.

The Republicans had come back into power after six years of Democratic control in the House and four years in the White House. Partisanship was bitter and intensified by sectionalism. It was the last Congress in which the embers of the Civil War were fanned into fierce flames. The "bloody shirt" waved for the last time. During that Congress, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, Washington, Wyoming and Idaho, were admitted as states into the Federal Union, resulting, as President Harrison one time remarked when sorely pestered by the demands of men from the new states, in "the free coinage of senators." The words "free coinage" were in everybody's mouth in those days.

It was the Congress of the McKinley tariff; the Sherman anti-trust law; the silver purchase law; the Reed rules; counting a quorum; of the billion dollars of expenditures; of large pension increases; of land legislation which resulted in the great system of forest reserves and the beginning of the conservation movement.

The year 1889 was notable also for the organization of the Farmers' Alliance into a national body, as it was the beginning of the Populist party; it was the year of the Johnstown flood; the first Pan-American conference; the appointment of Theodore Roosevelt to a Federal position; and other events which have had a great influence upon subsequent American history.

Insurgency developed in the Republican party during the Fifty-first Congress. The seeds of party revolt were sown when the leaders under whip and spur forced their party associates to support measures which were obnoxious to some parts of the country, and to cast votes which made them unpopular at home. These methods and the legislation enacted paved the way for the great Democratic sweep in 1890 and the triumphant election of Grover Cleveland in 1892, with all its train of history making.

During the Fifty-first Congress new ideas in politics sprang into being. Sharp lines of difference between men of different sections developed. The great West loomed large upon the horizon and became a mighty factor in the politics of the country. It was a time of rapid development. The last Indian war was fought; the large Indian reservations were reduced and the famed Frontier disappeared, creating that feeling of land hunger which later developed into "expansion." It was a period of tranquillity on the surface, but of deep-seated unrest underneath which has since caused important political and business changes in the country.

It might seem that in one hundred years the people

had learned the business of self-government, but each year brings new problems and a series of years produces an era. For a decade before the Fifty-first Congress the country had been upon a dead level. Not even the political change in 1885 had produced anything of great importance to mark the milestones of the years. The year 1889 was the beginning of an era. The foundations of a political revolution were laid. The country entered upon the second century of its existence, not to follow the beaten pathway of previous years, but to travel new roads, sail uncharted seas, to live and learn from year to year.

Three men became prominent at this time who afterwards became Presidents of the United States, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and William H. Taft. McKinley was at that time a presidential possibility. He had received votes for the nomination in the convention of 1888. He was a promising candidate for Speaker, and when he failed he was made Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and became leader of the House. Roosevelt was made Civil Service Commissioner and Taft Solicitor General, the second place of importance in the Department of Justice. Roosevelt was well known at the time. Of Taft little was known outside of Ohio, where he had been a judge in one of the smaller courts. Roosevelt had been a member of the state legislature, a candidate for Mayor of New York City, and a delegate to the convention in 1884 when he fought Blaine's nomination vigorously. At one time it was reported that he had bolted Blaine,

so bitter was he against the Plumed Knight, then the idol of his party, but he reserved his bolting for a more personal occasion.

When Roosevelt was appointed, a newspaper man wrote a dispatch in which he discussed the new appointee. "For years," he said, "the Civil Service Commission has been considered a fifth wheel of the governmental coach. It will be so no longer. Under the new appointee the Commission will take its rightful position or Mr. Roosevelt will revolve recklessly in the midst of the machinery."

And oh, how true was that prophecy! For eight years he was the bane of two Presidents of different parties and a thorn in the side of the political bosses. He was abused equally by men on both sides. He had bitter quarrels with Allison and Gorman, the leaders of the two parties in the Senate. Roosevelt was fierce in the pursuit of violators of the civil service law whether they were Republicans or Democrats. Harrison and Cleveland wanted to get rid of him, but neither would remove him. To dismiss a man like Roosevelt because he was too vigorous in enforcing the law would have caused an uproar among the friends of civil service reform.

It was while Roosevelt was Civil Service Commissioner that he was bitterly assailed by Frank Hatton in the Washington *Post*. Hatton was keen and humorous in his attacks, and never before or afterward did Roosevelt suffer so much at the hands of a newspaper. One day a friend found him pacing up and down in front of the Post Building with every appearance of rage in his face.

That morning there had been a particularly exasperating editorial in the *Post* and Roosevelt's friend immediately suspected something.

"What are you doing here?" he asked.

"I am looking for a —— —— ——!"

The Civil Service Commissioner had broken out into cowboy invective that he had learned in the West.

"And I am going to punch his head!" he added fiercely.

The friend coaxed him away and no doubt spoiled what might have been in Roosevelt's own words, "a bully fight," for Frank Hatton was a game man.

In many particulars Theodore Roosevelt did not change in all the years. I met him for the first time soon after he became Civil Service Commissioner. He was in one of the dingy little rooms then occupied by the Commission. Sitting at a desk he stared at me through large tortoise-shell rimmed glasses.

"Well, sir, what can I do for you?" he asked, with his usual abruptness.

"Oh, nothing much," I replied. "I'm from Dakota."

"You are!" he shouted. "Come in! Sit down! Put your feet on the table!"

And then we had a long gabfest about the big territory soon to become two states.

A few months later I wrote a little story about Roosevelt, for he was always good for a story, and quoted him as to his ambitions and aspirations. "If I have a career," he said at that time, "it will be in literature rather than in politics."

Many years later, when he was President and the greatest political boss the country ever had known up to that time, I showed him that little interview. He was very much amused.

In that same story I told how Roosevelt, although a Civil Service Commissioner, continued to take an interest in politics and was at that time earnestly supporting Tom Reed for Speaker, and quoted Roosevelt as saying:

"When I told McKinley I was for Reed I said to the major that I thought he would not advance his prospects for the future as Speaker; and I assured him that I hoped some time to vote for him as President."

He little imagined then that the second time he voted for McKinley for President he would also vote for himself for Vice-President.

The fight for Speaker in the Fifty-first Congress was a real contest, and the last, with one exception, that took place in thirty years. It began in 1888 when it was known that the Republicans had carried the House and continued until two days before Congress met in December, 1889, and was settled on the second ballot. There were five candidates, Thomas B. Reed of Maine, William McKinley of Ohio, Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois, Julius C. Burrows of Michigan, and David B. Henderson of Iowa. There was no trading or bargaining about committee places during the contest, but simply a matter of preference on the part of members of the Republican party. When Reed was elected, he named McKinley and Cannon as chairmen of two of

the most important committees and Burrows and Henderson became their lieutenants.

The contest for the Speakership was a feature of the short session of the Fiftieth Congress in the winter of 1888 and 1889, when most of the old members were pledged to one or another of the five aspirants. Pledges were also obtained from new members who visited Washington during the winter.

Then a new element entered into the contest. In that short session of the Fiftieth Congress a bill was passed which provided for the admission of four territories as states with five additional members of the House. The Republicans had only three majority in the newly elected House (the Fifty-first Congress) and there was a possibility that the political situation might be reversed by the election of five additional members. The Democrats hoped that the new states, grateful for admission by a Democratic House and a Democratic President (as the admission bill had been passed by a Democratic House and signed by Cleveland as President), would go Democratic and give them control in the Fifty-first Congress. Two of the territories at that time were represented by Democrats as Delegates and party lines had never been drawn very tight in Dakota. But the Democrats were doomed to disappointment. At the election in November, 1889, in the four new states five Republicans were elected and these five finally determined the Speakership contest. They voted for Reed on the second ballot and secured his nomination.

Roosevelt, the man whose personality and public career flashes upon the screen frequently during thirty active years, was a factor in the fight. During the late summer of 1889 he made a trip over his old stamping ground. He made it a hunting trip, but he also did what he could for Reed. When members of the House began to arrive in Washington in the Fall of 1889, Roosevelt established headquarters in a little back room in the old Wormley hotel. Here he and a few others worked for Reed. In after years he frequently referred to himself and two of his associates as "the three conspirators who elected Tom Reed Speaker." Frank Pettigrew of South Dakota and I were the other two members of this "trio." We had a wide acquaintance throughout the Northwest. Pettigrew had been the Delegate from Dakota territory. Our part in the campaign was to "round up," as Roosevelt said, the men from the new states. For personal reasons one voted for Cannon, one for Henderson, and two for McKinley on the first ballot, but they went to Reed on the second and nominated him.

The five candidates for Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress were distinguished in after years. Reed was a minority leader for two terms and then twice elected Speaker. McKinley was Governor of Ohio two terms and twice elected President. Henderson was twice elected Speaker. Cannon was four times elected Speaker, while Burrows had an honorable career in the Senate.

CHAPTER III

COUNTING A QUORUM

Speaker Reed Produces a Great Sensation—Riotous Scenes in the House of Representatives—Bitter Party Strife Over Contested Election Cases—Democrats Try Absent Treatment—Majority Rule Established—Reed on the "Tyranny of the Minority."

WHETHER at the time of his election as Speaker Mr. Reed had in mind all the parliamentary reforms which he put into practice may well be doubted. At all events, he kept the secret so closely guarded that no one knew of his intention to count a quorum until he actually began to do so. Had he taken the proposal before a Republican caucus, several members of his own party would have refused to follow him in such a radical step and he would have lacked the majority necessary to success, but he sprang his new system at a time when party feeling ran high over a contested election case and the fierce denunciations of the Democrats solidified his own party. To a man the Republicans rallied to his support.

Before and since that time there have been many riotous occasions in the House of Representatives, but it is to be doubted whether there ever was such wild excitement, burning indignation, scathing denunciation, and really dangerous conditions as existed in the

House for a few days while quorum counting was being established.

Reed was denounced as a czar, despot, tyrant, usurper, and such other terms as came to the minds of his opponents. Sectional feeling added heat to the atmosphere, but northern Democrats were as fierce as were their southern colleagues in denouncing the Speaker.

At times the whole Democratic side would rise, shout, gesticulate, and create a tumult. On one occasion little Joe Wheeler, the famous Confederate cavalry leader, unable to get to the front on account of the crowded aisles, came down from the rear seats leaping from desk to desk as the ibex leaps from crag to crag. On this occasion only one Democrat remained seated. Old "Howdy" Martin, a six-foot-six Texan, sat in his seat and whetted a bowie knife on the sole of his boot.

Riot and bloodshed seemed imminent and yet Reed went calmly along with his work. Threats to pull him from the Speaker's chair and violent demonstrations did not disturb him. Never for a moment did he lose his nerve. At times he showed exasperation, but never lost control of the situation.

"A hundred Democrats," wrote a Democratic newspaper correspondent, describing one of the scenes, "were on their feet howling for recognition, yet the moon-faced despot sat silent and gazed vacantly over their heads."

Reed would have put through the quorum counting reform without discussion, so firmly was he convinced

that he was right, but more moderate counsels prevailed and the subject was threshed over for several days.

Incidentally that first fight over counting a quorum made Charles F. Crisp of Georgia Reed's successor as Speaker—that and a few judicious trades in the selection of chairmen of important committees. Crisp had the management of the minority side in the election contest, having been relegated to a minor position by the Democrats of the House. For several days he held the center of the stage as his party battled with the mighty Reed and the Republican majority.

Before the application of the Reed rules, a minority could tie up the House and make a filibuster successful. The minority conducting the filibuster was much more powerful than any such minority in the Senate ever had been, because in the House it was a simple matter of having the roll called all day long. The parliamentary practice before the Reed rules went into effect permitted men to be present and force roll calls, but they could sit in their seats and refuse to respond to their names, thus breaking a quorum.

It was the intention of the Democrats of the Fifty-first Congress to use the filibuster to prevent the passage of objectionable bills; to prevent the unseating of southern members, against whom numerous contests were filed; and particularly to prevent the enactment of laws which would nullify the methods that the whites had adopted in the South to keep the blacks from voting or having their votes counted.

It was upon the contested election case of Smith *vs.*

Jackson from West Virginia that the quorum fight was made. No one cared much about either of the candidates, and when the final vote was taken no one was interested in the merits of the case. John Dalzell of Pennsylvania, then a comparatively new member, had charge of the case for the Republicans and started the ball rolling by calling it up.

Crisp for the Democrats raised the parliamentary point of "consideration," and the question was, "shall the House consider the contested election case of Smith *vs.* Jackson?" Crisp demanded the yeas and nays, and the Democratic side rose as one man to second the demand.

"Evidently a sufficient number," drawled Reed and ordered a roll call. The Democrats refused to vote and at the conclusion of the call a quorum had not been recorded. The Speaker then directed the clerk to note on the record the names of members, which he began to read. The names were those of many prominent Democrats who had not voted and were sitting in their seats.

At once a vigorous protest was made. Among the first names called was that of Breckinridge of Kentucky, famous for his silver hair and silver tongue, who afterwards figured in a notorious scandal.

"I deny the power of the Speaker and denounce it as revolutionary," shouted the Kentuckian.

This was greeted with wild applause. Others were equally vehement, and tried to appeal from the decision of the Chair. Reed was denounced as a "political

demagogue," a "disorderly Speaker," and his action declared an "unconstitutional assumption of power."

When Reed announced the name of McCreary of Kentucky, the latter shouted:

"I deny your right to count me as present."

"The Chair is making a statement of fact," drawled Reed, "which is that the gentleman from Kentucky is present. Does he deny it?"

"Must the representatives of the people submit to brute force?" came in stentorian tones from McMillin of Tennessee.

"I make the point of order that the Chair has no right to count members present who have not answered to roll call," said Breckinridge, when Reed had concluded his list of names.

Breckinridge belonged to that coterie of Democrats who assumed to run their party in the House. He and others saw that a big thing was on and they tried to elbow Crisp out of his place as leader for the time being.

"The Chair overrules the point of order," calmly declared Reed.

"I appeal from the decision of the Chair," shouted Breckinridge.

"I move to lay the appeal on the table," quickly interposed Payson of Illinois, who was one of the kind that would have delighted old Thad. Stevens.

Then pandemonium broke loose.

That motion if carried would have shut off debate, and the Democrats gave voice to a violent protest. The storm was furious. It looked for a time as if there

would be such a riot as forever to discredit representative government.

Then a man on the Republican side claimed attention. Ben Butterworth was seeking recognition and a hearing. For the moment the tumult subsided and his clarion voice rang out above the din:

"This is a most important matter, Mr. Speaker, and I think we should have debate upon it."

A hoarse shout of approval went up from the Democratic side. McKinley was on his feet supporting Butterworth's suggestion. Reed nodded to Payson and he withdrew his motion. Then the debate began.

Very interesting it was, then, but in the light of what has happened since, how absurd seems the claim that members cannot be counted to make a quorum when the Constitution says that a quorum can be compelled to attend. But it was the greatest issue of that time.

Although the debate proceeded for several days, the Democrats fought every inch of the way. They compelled the reading of every word of the Journal each day and forced several roll calls upon its approval; they continued to refuse to vote; and denounced Reed every day as a czar, tyrant, and usurper, because he continued to count a quorum on every roll call.

It was during the debate that Crisp stated that Reed had been formerly diametrically opposed to the new position he had taken, and added the quotation: "'I appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober.'"

"You are a tyrant and a czar," was old Silver Dick

Bland's contribution to the symposium. Springer of Illinois appealed time after time. Reed would fence with him for a little while and then refuse to listen or would ignore him.

"The decisions of the Chair are clearly corrupt," asserted Breckinridge.

At one stage Reed secured order enough to say:

"The business of the House is not to be interrupted by noise, applause, or clamor."

Then the racket was redoubled.

"This is tyranny, simple and undiluted," declared Springer. "It is an outrage upon the House and the American people."

On the fourth day of the turmoil, Bynum of Indiana broke forth in a tirade against the Speaker, insinuating corrupt motives.

"I demand that his words be taken down," shouted Cutcheon of Michigan.

That started a new issue and Bynum was tried for using unparliamentary language. The Republicans voted him guilty and subject to censure.

It was late at night after a parliamentary and party struggle which was wearing even to those who watched and listened. But the iron hand of Reed was on the lever of the machine, which ground slowly but to a purpose.

Bynum was directed by the Speaker to stand before the bar of the House. He came down the aisle on the Democratic side amidst a burst of cheers, and was followed into the area in front of the Speaker's desk by

the entire Democratic membership. It looked for a moment as if they intended to mob the Speaker.

"Gentlemen will take their seats and the House will be in order," commanded Reed.

This was met by a roar of defiance and a shout that they intended to share Bynum's censure.

Reed gazed at them for a moment in silence, and contempt showed in his expressive countenance. "As certain members of the House refuse to be in order," he said, "it becomes the duty of the Chair to proceed while the House is in disorder."

It was expected that he would use his great power of invective to excoriate Bynum, but he simply said:

"Mr. Bynum, the House has ordered that you be censured for the use of unparliamentary language spoken in debate, and I now pronounce that censure upon you."

Very mild after a tumultuous day. Much ado about nothing, and the Democrats packed around Bynum looked rather foolish.

It was about the end of that part of the fight on counting a quorum. The quorum was established by Reed each time on every vote, as he always counted a quorum when Democrats present refused to vote. This counting of a quorum was afterwards sustained by a decision of the Supreme Court.

Speaker Reed established the fact that he could and would count a quorum, and by counting quorums would put through legislation, and, what was more annoying to the Democrats, the Republicans seated

Republicans where seats were contested. It was charged by the Democrats that it was the intention to unseat enough Democrats, filling their places with negroes, to ensure the enactment of the force bill and pass other drastic measures. Unable to beat the Reed game by not voting, they tried the absent system.

Again it was a contested election, this time a negro against a white man from a Virginia district. Langston was the contestant and Venable was the Democrat holding the seat. Again the fight was made without any of the coterie of Democrats who ran the House when Carlisle was Speaker having charge. This coterie consisted of Mills of Texas, the two Breckinridges of Kentucky and Arkansas, McMillin of Tennessee, Turner of Georgia, Bynum of Indiana, and Wilson of West Virginia.

O'Ferrall of Virginia had charge of the Democratic side during the absentee fight, with Crisp assisting him as a lieutenant; but Crisp kept out of sight unless it was imperatively necessary for him to appear in the House. For days O'Ferrall had the entire Democratic side to himself while the Republicans struggled to secure a quorum of their own.

For some unknown reason there are always a number of men elected to Congress who will not attend the sessions. They are chronic absentees. Just as Ike Hill, who for years was aide on the Democratic side, often said, there are men who will never vote. No matter how close or important the vote may be, they fail to get into the House in time to answer a roll call.

Starting with a majority of only eight the Republicans were hard pressed when the entire Democratic side remained away. With one or two men ill, together with the chronic absentees, they were without a quorum. Reed did not care to go to the length of using force to compel Democrats to attend, so the Republicans waited several days while urgent messages were sent to the delinquents.

The contested election case reached a stage where only one member was necessary for a quorum. Reed had counted all the Republicans, also O'Ferrall, who had to remain on the floor for parliamentary purposes. Two Republicans had been brought in on cots. Then by mistake a Democrat looked out of the cloak room to see what caused the impressive silence in the chamber and Reed nailed him, and the pending resolution unseating Venable was adopted. That advanced the case, but it was necessary to adopt a resolution seating Langston. O'Ferrall continued the fight and forced a count of the House, although he could not get a roll call. Then all curious Democrats kept out of sight.

There was a long wait. The Republicans knew that one of their men was on his way to Washington. Suddenly there was a flash of red whiskers at the rear of the Republican side and a cheer went up from the waiting members. The whiskers waggled and a voice came through them, saying:

"One more, Mr. Speaker," and Sweney of Iowa had been counted. That made the quorum.

Reed declared the quorum present, the pending reso-

lution was carried, and the next moment a negro stood before the Speaker and was sworn in as a member of the House.

Before anyone could think of what was going on, Rowell of Illinois, Chairman of the Committee on Elections, had called up another case, had secured the adoption of a resolution unseating a southern Democrat, and had another resolution adopted seating the contestant, and in less time than it takes to tell it, another negro was being sworn in as a member of the House.

A Democratic newspaper man in the press gallery, looking across to a gallery which was filled with negroes, said:

"Reed has just sent up there to see if there is another likely looking nigger in the gallery, and if they find one he's to be brought down and sworn in as a member of the House."

Seeing the jig was up, the Democrats began returning to their seats amidst the jeers of the Republicans. The fight over rules was practically at an end. It was shown that the wheels of the House would turn, and although the fight against Reed continued to the very end of the Congress, and the Democrats refused to accord him the courtesy of a vote of thanks when the session closed, he had established a system which will remain a monument to his memory. These Reed Rules have been adopted in all subsequent Congresses, whether Republican or Democratic. Every House secures itself against filibustering and retains its power to do

business. The Reed Congress put an end to effective filibustering in that body.

Reed was an intense partisan and no doubt had the same idea as most members of his party about the right of negroes to vote and to wield power when they were in the majority. Probably his ideas on this matter were modified in later years. At all events, when he was in power in the House a second time, with a Republican President and a Republican Senate, he made no effort to revive the force bill. In the Fifty-first Congress he was not particularly mindful of the black Republicans. The machinery by which Democrats were ousted and Republicans were seated was used for white Republicans in several instances. What Reed mainly sought was to establish the principle that the majority should rule.

Once I heard him discussing with a number of others his change of opinion in the matter of the right of the Speaker to count a quorum, or the counting as present members who refused to vote. It began when one of his Democratic friends accused him of "flopping."

"It was Napoleon," drawled Reed, "who said that 'the Bourbons never learned anything.' He must have had in his mind's eye the Bourbons of Democracy. They not only never learn anything, but they seriously object if any other person shows a tendency to learn from experience. I changed my position because I saw the tyranny of the minority. A minority is without responsibility, yet it assumes to dictate to the majority. The rights of the minority have been preserved when

it has an opportunity to debate and offer motions which will test the determination of a majority. When a minority seeks to prevent affirmative action by the majority, it goes beyond its rights. When a minority has the power to prevent the majority from acting and legislating, it becomes a tyranny. I believe the majority should rule and legislate and should be held responsible for its acts."

CHAPTER IV

REED DEFEATS FREE SILVER

Saves Harrison Necessity of a Veto—Mills Leads the Democrats to a Barren Victory—Makeshift Sherman Silver Purchase Law and Blair's Humorous Comment.

JUST why Tom Reed interposed his bulk and brains between Harrison and a veto of a free silver bill is one of the unexplained mysteries of the Fifty-first Congress. Whether Reed wanted the credit of defeating free silver for future political purposes of his own, or feared Harrison would approve the bill, is still a matter of doubt. It might have been because a fight was offered him and he accepted the gage of battle. He was always ready for a contest. At all events, he saved the day and defeated free coinage.

Silver legislation of some kind was inevitable. The Republicans felt that they "must do something for silver." There were enough Republicans in each House who held silver above everything else to have turned the apparent Republican majority into a minority, and at times that was just what occurred. Not only were the men who represented silver producing states devoted to the white metal, but many other western men were red hot for silver. McKinley had once voted for free coinage, but had modified his views. The country

was blundering along under the Bland-Allison act, which was a compromise of several years before.

Having determined "to do something for silver," a makeshift, nondescript bill was passed by the House. The Senate sent it back with a free coinage amendment. Only three Democrats, Gray of Delaware, McPherson of New Jersey, and Wilson of Maryland, voted against it. Even Gorman, the Democratic leader, voted contrary to his convictions because it was regarded as a party measure. The fight in the House began over the disposition of the bill as amended.

Silver Dick Bland, as the ranking Democratic member of the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, opened the contest, as was his right, but as this promised to be a big fight, the coterie of Democrats who assumed control of the party took it out of his hands and Mills of Texas took full charge.

The proposition was to have the House vote directly upon the Senate amendment, there being at the time a free coinage majority, because many anti-silver Democrats thought it was good politics to "put the Republicans in a hole."

Reed and his assistants prevented a vote or any action by the House on the bill the first day. On the next morning everybody read in the Congressional Record that the silver bill had been referred to the Committee on Coinage, of which Conger of Iowa was Chairman.

Mills began his operations by offering a resolution to correct the Journal by expunging from it the minute

which showed that the bill had been referred. McKinley, the floor leader, tried to bury Mills under points of order and other parliamentary maneuvers, but Mills had the votes which gave him control.

"Now is the time to redeem the pledges of all parties and give the people free coinage," he cried. "You silver men on that side can do it. The opponents of this bill on this side can be counted on the fingers of one hand."

And then the debate went on for several days with an occasional bright spot. Here is one: Crisp of Georgia had the floor and was interrupted by Ben Butterworth of Ohio, and it brought from Crisp this statement:

"During the whole session the gentleman and his party, if I may be permitted to borrow a simile, have seemed to bow before the Speaker with much the same feeling with which the Hindu bows before the hideous image of his god. 'He knows that he is ugly, but he feels that he is great.'"

"Well," replied Butterworth, "I do not dissent from the good looks of the Speaker, and I agree that he is great."

After a long debate and many votes Mills had the paragraph which referred the silver bill to Conger's committee, erased from the Journal, and the jubilant Democrats waited for another day.

Then Bland was allowed to take charge and he sought to have the silver bill taken up. McKinley went in with a number of points of order, but it was Conger who threw the real bomb, saying:

"I make the point of order that Mr. Bland's motion is out of order because the bill is not before the House."

"Where is it?" shouted a number of members.

"In the possession of my committee," replied Conger. "The Speaker referred it, I received and receipted for it, and it is in the committee room now. You can't consider a bill that is in possession of a committee."

Then there was trouble.

All the debate and work and roll calls had been for nothing. Mills had taken charge, had apparently unhorsed the Speaker and paved the way for a direct vote on free silver, but as a matter of fact he had accomplished nothing. They had the votes, but had no bill!

There was more debate over this situation, more roll calls, but Reed was "inching up" all the time. When Mills first began his fight he had a clear majority, but he secured approval for the amended Journal by a vote of only 132 to 130.

In ruling on the point of order as to where the bill was, Reed said that the act of removing from the Journal the record of the reference of the bill had no real effect. "It was like the scuttling of a boat which had carried a man safely across a lake; it would not land him on the other shore." He held that the bill had been referred to the committee in accordance with the rules of the House, and notwithstanding the erasure of the reference in the Journal, the fact of the reference remained, the bill was then in the committee.

Bland appealed from the decision, and after more debate the matter went over for another day, with

McKinley's motion pending to lay the appeal on the table. The next morning Bland tried to withdraw his appeal and was supported by other leading silver Democrats, but the Republicans would not consent.

Reed and his lieutenants had won over most of the silver men in their own party except those from the silver-producing states. Republican members knew that to overturn the Speaker's latest ruling would upset all party control in the House. Then another factor had entered into the situation. The Democrats from Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, who had been following Mills, heard from home in no uncertain tones. Their constituents severely criticized them for their silver votes, and the half dozen to whom Mills referred at the beginning of the debate as the number who would vote against silver, increased to a score when the final vote came, and Reed was sustained.

A few weeks later, the Republicans allowed a direct vote on the free coinage proposition, but they had canvassed their own side and also knew how many Democrats would vote against silver. Free coinage was defeated by a vote of 144 to 117. Twenty-two Republicans voted for free silver and twenty Democrats voted against it. Not a Democrat from the South or West voted against silver. In a short time there was a wonderful change. Only a few years later Mills, Crisp, and a number of others were supporting Cleveland in his fight to secure the repeal of the silver purchase law. Bynum, one of the leaders in 1890, bolted Bryan's free silver platform in 1896 and became a Republican.

It was a hard time for men who did not believe in free silver, but who represented constituencies which favored free coinage. One of these was John L. Wilson of Washington, a small, nervous, highly strung individual, who had decided opinions of his own. Wilson had difficulties with the Senators from his own state over patronage. He was a native of Indiana and had known Harrison in earlier years. The President had at the beginning of Wilson's term shown a kindly interest in him, and Wilson at first supposed that he could have his own way in patronage matters. But Harrison would not help a friend when it interfered with senatorial prerogative. He was too deeply imbued with the importance of the Senate to give any preference to a member of the House. So Wilson was constantly overthrown by the Senators. During the long fight over the silver bill Wilson had stood up and voted with Reed although the Senators from his state had voted for free silver.

From the beginning of the fight in the House intense interest was shown by Senators. Many were seen in back seats and the space behind the desks every day. Several Senators tried to influence the members from their states, some urging them to vote one way and some another way. For instance John J. Ingalls, who voted and spoke for silver in the Senate—and who didn't believe in it—spent much time in the House trying to get Kansas members to sustain Reed and prevent the passage of a free silver bill.

Senators from silver states were as anxious the other

way. Senator Power of Montana, a shrewd, small man of many peculiarities, was on hand frequently. It was well understood that he was watching Tom Carter, with whom he was in constant political disagreement and who was supposed to be seeking Power's seat—which he later obtained. Carter was one of Reed's friends; he knew Reed was right, but he did not commit political hari-kari by any votes on the silver question.

One day Power went into the cloak room and found Wilson, who had just voted against silver on one of the many roll calls.

"Better look out," said Power, in his shrill, irritating voice; "better get in line; better vote right; better vote for silver; the boys are watching; check 'em up; check 'em up."

"See here!" blazed Wilson; "I'm senator-ridden in my own state as much as I can stand, and I'll not take any of it from you. You're one man I can lick and I'll do it right now if you don't get out of here!"

The way Power vanished from the cloak room and through the door of the House was one of the interesting features of the interview.

The silver purchase law was a bungling piece of business, being little more than the Populist sub-treasury plan applied to one commodity. It was called the Sherman law because the final draft was made by the Ohio Senator. Sherman repudiated actual authorship and said the law was the result of a compromise, and he had only written out the terms of agreement between silver men like Jones of Nevada and Teller of Colorado

and gold men like Conger of Iowa and Walker of Massachusetts.

There was one bright ray in the gloom which hung over the Senate on the day the conference report was adopted. The agreement was unsatisfactory to everybody. No free coinage man wanted it and every gold man was disgusted with it. It was a Republican compromise and not a Democrat voted for it, while the Republicans voted for it as a makeshift; the gold men because it avoided free coinage and the silver men because it was the best they could get. The ray of sunshine was contributed by Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire, whose dry humor often came like a flash of light into the gloom of the upper chamber, for humor is a rare article in the Senate. Blair spoke the final word before the vote was taken, saying:

"I think nothing so adds to the happiness of the surroundings as for a sick man to take his medicine cheerfully; and as I intend to vote for this bill, after listening to one Senator from Oregon (Dolph) who finds in it the gold standard, that it is a gold measure, and to the other Senator from Oregon (Mitchell) who finds in it unlimited or free coinage in substance, and the Senator from Kansas (Plumb) who is satisfied it is a free coinage bill, and to the Senator from Colorado (Teller) who is not satisfied precisely what it is, but is very well satisfied with it, I thought that I would vote for the bill, but that I would give notice to the Senate that under no circumstances whatever, here or elsewhere, would I ever give a single reason for so doing."

CHAPTER V

TARIFF ALWAYS A POLITICAL ISSUE

McKinley Law Followed by Republican Defeat—Blaine Forces Reciprocity into the Bill—Tom Carter Fights for a Duty on Lead—Beginning of the Populist Party and the Ocala Platform—Wit and Sharp Words in the Senate.

OTHER political issues may come and go, but the tariff goes on forever. The tariff was the main issue which brought the Republicans back into power in the election of 1888, and they enacted the McKinley bill which remained operative only four years, but in that time had far-reaching political results, disastrous to the Republicans in two campaigns.

The man most noted in connection with the tariff of 1890 was, of course, McKinley. There were associated with him Burrows of Michigan, Dingley of Maine, McKenna of California, afterwards on the Supreme Bench, Hopkins of Illinois, and La Follette of Wisconsin, afterwards in the Senate.

It was James G. Blaine, however, who had the reciprocity provision inserted in the McKinley bill and who smashed his hat in anger in the Finance Committee room because such men as Morrill, Aldrich, Sherman, and Allison could not appreciate the glories of reciprocity. One of them flippantly remarked that it was a "flim-

flam" game; an attempt to get something for nothing, which meant in reality that the United States would get the short end of bargains made with the Latin-American countries. But as Jim Blaine had been an idol of the party and was so much in earnest as to smash a new silk tile in his gesticulations, they decided to gratify him.

Blaine had been the inventor, promoter, and chief figure of the first Pan-American congress which assembled in Washington in 1889. It was Blaine who had the big idea that water could be made to run up hill; or, what was the same thing, that trade currents could be diverted from their natural courses. But he has not been the only person possessed by this idea. Successive Pan-American conferences have shown that the same hope that was implanted in the mind of Ponce de Leon, in regard to changing the course of nature, continues to exist as to the possibility of changing the routes of commerce from east and west to north and south. By the magic word "reciprocity" it was expected that countries largely engaged in the same pursuits could be induced to exchange products with each other. Blaine did not like Great Britain and he wanted to take the South American trade away from her. That was one reason for insisting upon reciprocity, affording to this country the opportunity to offer bargains to peoples who disliked us as a nation with the intensity of persons who dislike a powerful neighbor that has protected and befriended them.

One of the interesting features about the McKinley

bill was the surprise it gave to those people who thought the tariff was to be reduced. During the preceding campaign the orators had proclaimed that the tariff "must be revised by its friends," which almost everybody supposed to mean that it would be reduced, but in such limited degree as to be still protective. There was a growing surplus in the Treasury which seemed to trouble statesmen at that time, and it was to be cured by a tariff revision. The McKinley idea was to reduce the revenue by raising rates. It had that effect, and it also reduced, and in fact wiped out, Republican majorities.

There were few dramatic scenes in connection with the tariff bill. One of these developed an interesting personal story. Tom Carter of Montana was Speaker Reed's friend, and therefore fortune's favorite. As a new member, he was given a chairmanship during his first term, something very rarely done in Congress. Carter wanted one thing in the tariff bill and he wanted it very much. That was a tariff of $30 a ton on all lead ores whether coming in with other minerals or otherwise. Leading the fight for this duty, he one day charged down the aisle into the area in front of the Speaker and from one arm he flung a roll of petition up the Democratic aisle and from the other arm a like petition up the Republican aisle, and raising both hands aloft he shouted:

"Sixty thousand miners delving in the bowels of the mountains to make this nation richer and more prosperous ask for this legislation! Dare you deny them?"

Well, he won his fight and the next morning lo and behold! there was no mention of Carter in any of the papers. I did not notice it until the receipt of the western papers which were so very much interested in lead tariff and which contained no mention of the victory Carter had won; this was a rather conspicuous omission because many Republicans were against him and he had secured support on the Democratic side. On inquiry I learned that Carter was under boycott by the Associated Press.

After the close election contest in Montana in 1889, there were all sorts of conflicting claims and the many charges of fraud and corruption which follow a close contest where considerable money has been spent. That election had cost the Montana money kings something like a million dollars. On his way to Washington, Carter had been interviewed at Chicago and asserted that the Republicans had won and would elect the Senators, and, going further, he said the impression that the Democrats were the victors had been created by false reports sent out by the Associated Press which was controlled in Montana by Democratic newspapers. Grim old William Henry Smith was at the head of the Associated Press at that time and he gave orders that thereafter Carter's name should not be mentioned.

Nothing will kill a man politically so quickly as a newspaper boycott of that kind. I told Carter that he was in bad, but we were able to fix it up. James S. Clarkson, then First Assistant Postmaster General, and interested in a paper in Iowa, was the medium through

which we worked, and after Carter had written a letter of explanation, the boycott was lifted.

During the summer of 1890 there were signs of unrest. Many Republicans in Congress did not like certain provisions in the tariff bill. They seriously objected even to the limited subsidy granted to American ships which was provided by a bill passed that session. There was strong objection to the removal of the duty on raw sugar, and the substitution of a bounty for American producers. The increase in tariff rates, notably the high duty on tin plate, disturbed many Republicans. One man who became prominent in after years as a Democrat, John Lind of Minnesota, made a strong protest against this duty. There were Republican insurgents, but they were not strong enough in either house to effect any changes. The tariff bill finally became a law on the first of October, and five weeks later the Republicans suffered a crushing defeat.

Political disquiet was not confined to one party. There was dissatisfaction manifested in various directions. In 1889, the Farmers' Alliance and kindred organizations assembled at St. Louis and promulgated what might be called a platform of protest. In 1890, the Ocala platform was adopted and put forth by men of both parties representing farmers, laboring men, and organizations which were dissatisfied with existing conditions. It received its name from the town in Florida where the delegates assembled. There were enough prominent men of both parties at Ocala to create interest. The platform adopted was considered so radi-

cal as to stamp the whole proceeding as absurd. And yet, in the light of what has since been enacted into legislation, the principles then enunciated do not seem so wild. The main features of the Ocala platform were:

The abolition of national banks and the substitution of legal tender treasury notes, allowing national bank notes in sufficient volume to carry on the business of the country on a cash system; that Congress shall by law prevent dealing in futures on all agricultural and mechanical productions; the free and unlimited coinage of silver; the prohibition of the alien ownership of land and the adoption of some just plan by which the government may acquire ownership in such lands, and also in lands held by railroad companies in excess of their actual needs; that taxation, both state and national, shall not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another; that all revenues, national, state and county, shall be limited to the actual necessary expenditures of the government economically and honestly administered; that Congress issue sufficient fractional currency to facilitate exchange through the United States mail; that all means of transportation and communication shall be controlled by the United States; providing that liberty to control and operate all lines of railroad and telegraph shall vest in the government, and if, after a fair trial of this system, it is found that it does not afford the relief demanded or effect the reforms in the management of them, the government's ownership shall be complete.

From this small beginning grew the Populist party, drawing from the Democrats in the South and the Republicans in the North. At one time it bade fair to

wreck the Democratic party in the southern states, and was making great headway in many northern states. The Populist party reached its zenith in 1896 when the nomination of Bryan at St. Louis, after he had been nominated by the Democrats at the Chicago convention, caused its disintegration.

The admission of new states brought a contest from Montana, which developed considerable interest on account of the personality of the men. Besides, the Senate makes a contest a matter of tremendous importance. Weeks of debate and weighty tons of precedents are injected into a question even when it is known long in advance, in fact as soon as the committee reports, what will be the outcome.

Both parties claimed to have carried the legislature in the first state election in Montana and each sent a set of Senators. The Democrats selected Major Martin Maginnis and William A. Clark. Maginnis had been a Delegate from the Territory several terms. Clark was known as a rich mine owner, but he achieved much more notoriety several years later when he came to the Senate with a trail of charges and counter charges about the expenditures of vast sums of money. Wilbur F. Sanders and Thomas C. Power had been selected by the Republican branch of the legislature. Sanders had been an attorney for the Vigilantes and regaled Senators in the cloak rooms with stories of X. Beidler, the Montana leader of the famous organization. Power was a rich merchant who had the reputation of being what our New England people call "near."

The contest was decided by a strict party vote and Sanders and Power were seated. But this was not done until after Senator Turpie of Indiana, whose command of high class vitriolic language has never been equalled by any man of his time, had paid his respects to Power. He called attention to a part of the testimony in which it was stated that Power was willing to pay $2.50 each for votes in one of the close precincts, but would not pay $5.00. Shaking his head from side to side, for he had a nervous affection, the Indiana Senator rasped out:

"Whatever else you may say of this man seeking a seat in this body, you must acknowledge that he was thrifty."

CHAPTER VI

WESTERN CONGRESSIONAL ASSOCIATION

A Sectional Organization with a Brief Career, but a Hummer While it Lived—Last of its Kind—Party Ties Stronger than Locality—A Place for Stories of the Wonderful West in Frontier Days.

THE Western Congressional Association had but a short life and fell of its own uselessness. It was sectional as regards East and West, but it was found difficult to draw the line of demarcation between the real West and what afterwards became known as "the enemy's country."

It is impossible to say how the idea of such an association originated, but Fred Dubois of Idaho, Tom Carter of Montana, Mark Smith of Arizona, Frank Pettigrew of South Dakota, and John L. Wilson of Washington, were the leading spirits. Carter, Pettigrew, and Wilson were the live wires of the newly admitted states, while Dubois and Smith were trying to have their territories admitted.

The men representing the four new states, who took their seats when Congress assembled in December, 1889, found that they had many interests in common. The Delegates from the territories were closely associated with the new members. They had worked together when all were on the same footing, and the Delegates

wanted the support of the new men to secure statehood for their territories.

At first there was talk of a new state league, but it soon became apparent that all of the vast region beyond the Missouri, or, particularly, west of the 96th meridian, had a common interest. That common interest was silver and irrigation. Not all the men in this region were silver men, but nearly all of them had to vote for silver. All were for a government system of irrigation. The public lands still open to settlement, the Indian reservations and the mining regions of the country were in this area. And, altogether, there was a general common interest in government affairs relating to the western half of the country.

This common interest brought about the formation of the last sectional organization that has been attempted in Congress. They were no pikers, those western men who went behind the organization. Such men as Leland Stanford and George Hearst of California, John P. Jones of Nevada and Watson C. Squire of Washington, didn't haggle over the cost of organizing and maintaining the Association. They rented the rather commodious building next to the Shoreham Hotel on 15th Street and furnished it well, and they supplied it on the expensive basis of a first class club. All members were privileged to bring guests, and all had the free and easy manner that characterized the section whence they came. In the language of one of its members the Association was "a hummer."

They elected Senator Stanford president because he

was the best "good thing" in sight. He didn't do much presiding; there was a vice president for that purpose, and Tom Carter was secretary, so all the multi-millionaire from the golden state had to do as president was to see that the bills were paid. And he didn't care. He was of the West and whatever the western boys wanted was all right.

One of the first things considered by the men who organized the Association was its geographical extent. And, oh, how it grew at the first meeting! Of course everything in the Northwest from the Red River of the North to the Pacific ocean was included, as well as all of the Pacific slope, the Rocky Mountain section, and the intermountain region.

"There's just as much reason for including Nebraska as my own state," remarked Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota, who wanted Charlie Manderson a member for personal reasons. And Nebraska was admitted.

"Plumb is as good a silver man as I am," said Senator Teller of Colorado, "and if Nebraska comes in there's no reason why Kansas shouldn't." And so Kansas came in.

"The Territories of Arizona and New Mexico have been in from the start," said Mark Smith of Arizona, "and certainly the struggling new Territory of Oklahoma ought to be a member." It was so ordered.

"That takes in everything on a line west of the Red River of the North and the Missouri," remarked Gil. Pierce of North Dakota.

"Except Texas," said John Wilson of Washington.

"Well, no one wants Texas," said Senator Sanders of Montana.

"Why not?" asked Teller, sharply, who had no disposition to see a joke in serious affairs.

"We can't be sure of Texas," replied Sanders. "We're in doubt as to whether Texas is a part of the Union. She might secede."

"There's no better friend of silver and irrigation than Senator John Reagan of Texas," shouted Stewart of Nevada. "If we want to accomplish anything we want all the strong men from the South. I'm in favor of taking in all the silver men, like Cockrell and Vest of Missouri——"

"What's before the meeting?" someone inquired, who feared Stewart when he talked silver.

"We might as well drop sectionalism if this organization is to do anything," said Teller, severely. "The Texas Senators and Representatives will make valuable members."

"So will Cush Davis of Minnesota," interjected Pettigrew; "and John Lind of the same state is as good a silver man as there is in Congress."

But Teller and Stewart had their way and Texas was added to the Association.

"It seems," remarked Sanders, "that to draw a line on the Red River of the South would be sectionalism, but such is not the case in regard to the Red River of the North. What is your organization, anyway, but the

rankest kind of sectionalism between the West and East?'"

The objects and aims of the Association were considered at another meeting. It was freely declared that one object was to promote irrigation. That was all right; everybody was for it. Then several members insisted that more important than irrigation was silver, and that started something of a row, as quite a few men from the West were not silver men.

Carter saw the thing was going on the rocks and suggested that the members did not have to agree on all subjects, but that they could come together and discuss, and, if possible, adjust differences; that they could all work together for their various local needs and be helpful to one another without regard to great issues or partisanship.

"He's got the right idea," said Senator Hearst, making the only speech of his career in or out of Congress. "It's this way: If I wanted to get something through, I'd go over on the Republican side and say to Stewart, there: 'Bill, get in behind this; get your fellows together and help me get this bill through.' If any of you fellows wanted anything, why you'd come over on the Democratic side and say to me: 'George, get in behind this; round up your fellows and have 'em vote right.' That's what this organization is for, just as Carter says, to help each other."

"Noblesse oblige," murmured Squire of Washington, who always lived up to the sentiment.

But the help which Senator Hearst suggested could

not last on sectional lines. Men in New England and New York were often more helpful than men from states in the Association.

It was soon found that no hard and fast alliances on any question could be made. In spite of everything, party ties proved stronger than alliances on silver or other subjects. Silver legislation finally became a party issue and the divisions weakened the alliances in the Association. There were often strong party contests in Congress. No Democrat in those days would allow that there was any good in Tom Reed, while men like Pettigrew and Carter believed in him and were his devoted friends. Discordant notes were heard; politics could not be kept out of an organization of politicians who had political objects to achieve.

The Association tried to have discussion and consideration of measures, but what dreary times they were. Stewart would talk all of an evening on silver, and Reagan would discourse for hours on irrigation, silver, interstate commerce transportation, and other topics. It was not to be expected that men who were driven out of the Senate and House every day by long-winded speeches would spend their evenings listening to the same things. Particularly was this true of men who knew there were good games going on in one or more rooms upstairs, or that a group of good story tellers were sitting around a table where champagne was fizzing in the glasses and fellowship held sway.

The Association served one purpose, however. It brought the men together a few times and afforded

them an opportunity to take the measure of each other at short range. It developed a considerable amount of "dead wood" in the western delegations, and also uncovered jealousies between states and statesmen.

But best of all were the wonderful stories of the West. Senator Stanford, in talking to a small group, could give very interesting accounts of early days in California. Jones of Nevada was a marvel. He had gone to California by way of Panama; had lived up and down the state in mining camps and had taken part in the developments of the gold days. He was in the early rush to Nevada and knew everybody worth knowing at a time when the West was the land pictured by Bret Harte and Mark Twain. Jones was the most fluent story teller I have ever known in Congress. Stewart, who was the last man to talk with President Lincoln at the White House on that fateful April night in 1865, had a fund of anecdote and reminiscences when he was taken back to the old days. Carter was a delightful story teller, but better still he had the art of extracting stories and experiences from others. Sanders had lived in the days and participated in the activities of the Vigilantes of Montana. He made a hero of X. Beidler, the leader of the Vigilantes of that state.

It is a matter of sincere regret that a phonograph could not have recorded the stories as they were told in the rooms of the Western Congressional Association, or that they could not have been taken down in shorthand and preserved. They would be a rich legacy to the literature of the West.

CHAPTER VII

FAMOUS FORCE BILL FIGHT

Last Civil War and Reconstruction Measure—Tension in the Senate—Political Lines Sharply Drawn—Gorman Leads the Opposition—Why Edmunds Left the Senate—Return of Elkins to Public Life—An Attempt to Smash John Sherman—Origin of the Term "Pork"—Uncle Joe's Admonition after the Defeat in 1890.

DURING the summer of 1890 a number of negroes were seated in the House. Southern Democrats were ousted by strict party votes. The discussion of the cases had aroused a bitter partisan and sectional feeling, and it almost seemed as if reconstruction days were again being lived over. No doubt the party feeling engendered did much to pass the force bill through the House, although at first there was Republican opposition to interference in election matters in the southern states.

At the head of the Elections Committee was Jonathan H. Rowell of Illinois, an old Union soldier, an intense partisan, and a firm believer in race equality. He was of the Ben. Wade and Thad. Stevens school. If he could have had his way, he would have seated every negro who made a contest. He took the ground that if there was a majority of blacks in any congressional district, it was *prima facie* evidence that a negro,

if a candidate, should have been elected in that district.

Private John Allen, the wit of Tupelo, Miss., in a humorous speech tried to reason with the grim old Northerner, by explaining:

"The negroes," he said, "although in a majority in some districts do not vote to any great extent. They do not know how to vote and in most cases do not desire to vote. Now, in most places in our section the white men begin to fire off shotguns early on the morning of election day. This is to notify the blacks that it's going to be an entirely fair election."

At that time more negroes were members of the House—the result of contested elections—than before or since. For a few succeeding sessions negroes were returned from some of the black belt districts, but for the past twenty-five years no negro has held a seat in Congress.

For many years Henry Cabot Lodge, then a member of the House, afterwards elected to the Senate five successive times, was the reputed author of the force bill because it bore his name. But no one man constructed that measure. A Republican caucus endorsed the principle of Federal control of elections and designated a committee consisting of Lodge, Rowell, and Carter to prepare a bill. All of them contributed to the work, but the teeth in it came from a bill introduced by Rowell. His bill was crude in language, but would have been extremely effective if enacted into law and enforced. After the three men had completed the draft of the bill,

it was turned over to Lodge to be put into proper English and was introduced in the House by him and referred to the committee of which he was chairman. It was reported by him and was in his charge during its consideration in the House.

In the Senate the bill was in charge of Senator Hoar, Chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections. The fight in the Senate was one of the memorable events of the closing days of the Fifty-first Congress. Never since that time have party lines been so tightly drawn, and as the struggle progressed party differences became somewhat personal. Friendships of long standing were strained almost to the breaking point. Such men as Matt Quay and George Vest, and Don Cameron and Matt Butler did not allow the election bill to interfere with their personal relations, but neither Quay nor Cameron cared very much about the election bill. They were among the eight Republicans who finally voted to set it aside.

It was during this period of intense party strife that an amusing incident occurred. For days and nights there had been continuous sessions, Democratic Senators holding the floor or forcing roll calls to make the Republicans keep a quorum of their members within reach of the Senate chamber. During one of these prolonged sessions somewhere about 3 o'clock A.M., when the Republicans were nearly all in their cloak room and in no very amiable mood, Senator Zeb Vance of North Carolina shuffled along back of the desks in the Senate chamber and entered. He was the first

Democrat who had been in the Republican cloak room for a long time. He did not come to make overtures, but simply on a friendly personal mission. He began by telling southern stories, for which he was famous. In illustrating one of them he did a sort of wing dance in imitation of an old darky, singing at the same time a song about "sitting up all night with a yaller gal."

This was too much even for Senator Hoar and a smile beamed upon his Pickwickian face, while the others roared with laughter.

Senator Arthur P. Gorman of Maryland led the opposition to the force bill in the Senate and made a reputation which lasted during his life. He had been chosen as the Democratic leader and was one of the few men that actually was a leader. He organized the Democrats, provided constant relays of speakers so as to keep the talk going, and prevented the bill from coming to a vote. He was constantly on the watch to see that the Republicans maintained a quorum.

While Gorman's achievement was notable, it was not surprising. He not only had the solid support of his party, but he was soon aware that there was quite a number of Republicans who wanted the bill defeated, but felt bound to support it for party reasons.

Gorman reached the zenith of his political career in the force bill fight. Then he was at his best. When his party was in the majority, he took a course on the Wilson tariff bill which alienated many of his friends, and it was not until near the close of his life that he

regained the popularity he had enjoyed in the Fifty-first Congress.

A man of medium height, well proportioned, and well groomed, he was always a commanding looking figure in the Senate. His smooth, classical face generally had an ashen pallor, which rather added to his attractive appearance. That face was absolutely inscrutable when Gorman chose to make it so, while at other times it would lighten with the brightest smile and he would be the most affable man one could meet Gorman had a keen sense of humor and consequently had a distaste and a distrust of demagogues, a fact that made enemies for him outside as well as inside the Senate; but he defeated the force bill.

Zeb Vance was one of the most lovable men in the Senate. Everybody was fond of him. When the force bill was finally set aside, there was a scramble to get consideration for measures which had been long delayed. Every Senator wanted his pet measure passed. In an effort to arrange a program different Senators made suggestions. Senator Paddock of Nebraska wanted the Paddock pure food bill passed, and when he brought it forward Senator Allison mentioned the Conger lard bill, which had been pushed through the House by Conger of Iowa, and was designed to regulate the manufacture of lard from cotton seed oil. Allison's suggestion brought Vance to his feet.

"The Conger lard bill is dead," he shouted. "'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more,'" he quoted, much to the amusement of everybody.

The only man who ever said an unkind word of old Zeb Vance was Sanders of Montana. He was a wit himself, and decidedly original, but often his remarks were tinged with personal allusions, and like Tom Reed he preferred to turn an epigram even if he made an enemy, than to leave it unsaid and maintain a friend. "Zeb Vance a wit?" said Sanders; "he is such a wit as a parrot might be. He carries his wit around on his back like a peddler with his pack." As Sanders was equally free in his comments on other Senators, he did not make friends and failed to acquire the standing in the Senate that his ability merited. He and Ingalls were very companionable, for Ingalls, too, had a sharp tongue and was not at all particular upon whom he showered cutting remarks.

Another clash took place about that time between Senator Edmunds of Vermont and Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota. Pettigrew had been rather belligerent and inclined to insurgency, several times evincing independence of regular Republican rule. As the South Dakota Senator was a native of Vermont, Edmunds took it upon himself to discipline him and point out that new Senators ought to conform to the traditions of the Senate and give heed to the counsel of the men long in service.

"See here," broke in Pettigrew, hotly; "I will attend to my own affairs. Further than that, if there is to be any more of this bossing, enough Senators from the new states will go over to the Democrats and we'll reorganize the Senate, and you'll have to pack up your

whiskey jug and get out of that Judiciary Committee room."

Edmunds resigned the following November, but it is said his determination to retire from the Senate was reached during the short session in 1891 and was caused mainly by the influx of Senators from the new states. This is how it happened:

When Idaho was admitted, there was a bit of fine work arranged by Fred Dubois, by which he was elected for the long term beginning in March, while Shoup and McConnell were elected for the first terms, taking chances in the lottery for the long and short terms to which Idaho was entitled. McConnell drew the short term, and as he only had a few weeks to serve, he hastened to make the best of his time. He was sworn in one day and the next he stood up in the middle aisle and in a loud voice delivered his "message" to the American people. While he was talking Edmunds entered the chamber.

"Who's that?" he asked another Senator.

"McConnell of Idaho," was the reply.

"Is he a member of the Senate?" asked Edmunds.

"Yes; sworn in yesterday."

"Sworn in yesterday and making a speech to-day?" incredulously inquired Edmunds.

"That's what," replied the other Senator.

Gazing at the vociferating McConnell, the Vermonter ran his fingers through his beard.

"Sworn in yesterday and haranguing the Senate to-day," he repeated. "Well, I guess it's about time for me to quit."

Redfield Proctor succeeded Edmunds in the Senate, and Stephen B. Elkins was appointed Secretary of War by Harrison. Elkins paid just as much attention to his office as he had to and continued his active business career. His private car was always ready to take him anywhere, to New York, to West Virginia, or wherever else his business called him. He would rush from the Department to that car and with his secretaries work all the time going and coming. He attended to such business as came to him in the War Department with vigor and dispatch, as shown by one particular incident which came under my observation.

The people of Portland, Oregon, wanted a railroad bridge across the Willamette River. The army engineers reported against it because it would interfere with navigation. A delegation, with the President of the Chamber of Commerce and the Mayor as leaders, came to Washington to have the engineers reversed. Accompanied by the two Senators and the Representative of Oregon, they lined up one morning in Elkins' office, the President of the Chamber of Commerce having a huge mass of typewritten sheets in his hands.

Elkins came bustling in, was introduced and cheerily greeted everybody. When he took his seat at his desk, the man with the pile of manuscript advanced and was about to begin reading.

"Hold on a minute," said Elkins. "Let's get at this with a short cut. I'm a railroad man and this is for a railroad bridge, so I'm for you on general principles."

"But I desire to present convincing arguments," said the would-be speaker.

"That's all right; I don't need much convincing," responded Elkins. "But let's see where we stand. You represent the Chamber of Commerce and you are in favor of the bridge. As representing the City, Mr. Mayor, you are in favor of the bridge. You, Mitchell, Dolph, and Hermann, representing the state in Congress, are for the bridge." And they all responded in the affirmative.

"That settles it; I'll order the bridge," briskly responded Elkins.

"But Mr. Secretary," said the man with the papers, "I have here all the facts and with your permission——"

"Oh, I've all the facts I want," laughed Elkins. "We'll send your papers down to the engineers."

Then he shook hands all around and disappeared in his private office.

To mollify the men from Oregon, who had no opportunity to present their arguments, Senator Mitchell gave them a dinner at Chamberlain's, where Joe Blackburn regaled them with stories until late the next morning.

John Sherman might be considered one of the most successful men in politics if he had achieved the one great ambition of his life, the Presidency. As it was, he had his share. He was constantly in office from 1855 until 1898; in the House, in the Senate, and as Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of State.

Few men have ever heard themselves so fiercely

denounced as John Sherman, and yet he did not allow such criticisms to disturb him. Senator Stewart of Nevada was the most vitriolic of all Sherman's Senate colleagues. Once a group of Senators were comparing notes and naming a few of the greatest political scoundrels they knew. Stewart listened for a time and then broke in:

"What you all say may have merit, but when it comes to selecting the damnedest scoundrel in public life I am pledged to John Sherman."

Stewart was a man of intense prejudices. Such men as Harrison, Cleveland, Reed, and many of the men with whom he had at one time been on good terms, were severely criticized by him when he no longer agreed with them.

I recall an effort of John Kenna to add to his fame, which was at high tide about that time. Kenna achieved such a reputation that his statue stands in the national hall of fame, the old hall of the House of Representatives. It is necessary to add, however, that John Kenna was once a United States Senator from West Virginia.

Not long after Kenna entered the Senate he prepared an elaborate speech attacking John Sherman. He notified the Ohio Senator that he intended to criticize him, so as to give Sherman an opportunity to be present. For three hours Kenna banged away depicting the various machinations of Sherman, his twisted public trail, his winding political pathway, the changes of his views, etc., while the grizzled old man sat humped over

in his seat without a single emotion showing on his features. When Kenna concluded Sherman arose and said:

"I have no doubt that all my brilliant young friend has said about my record is true. I have never taken the trouble to ascertain what that record has been. I will say to my young friend that if he remains in public life as long as I have been, he will find it necessary to change his views and opinions as times and conditions change."

That was all, but it was enough to smash to smithereens a great effort of a powerful young statesman.

In this connection another Sherman story is interesting. It was on the occasion when Sherman had a hard fight for re-election and was nearly defeated by Joe Foraker. After the contest had been waged for several days one of Foraker's friends, who held the key to the situation, was persuaded that party harmony and future success made it necessary to leave Foraker and support Sherman. He went to see the Senator, and with tears in his eyes and his voice choked with emotion, told the old man of the personal sacrifice he was making in order to preserve party harmony.

"My young friend," replied Sherman, "politics is a game of sacrifice and personal disappointment. If you remain in politics, you will have to make many sacrifices and you will undergo disappointments greater than you now feel."

The grim veteran knew. The great prize had always eluded him.

It was during the Fifty-first Congress that the term "pork" was first used in connection with public buildings, and appropriations for local improvements. That was before the thoroughly organized system of omnibus public building bills made it easy for nearly every city and town to get a building. Then each bill was passed separately, and went through on its merits or according to the "pull" which an individual member could work with other members. It often happened that a man with a public building bill had to sacrifice his entire term to that bill. He had to trade with everybody and dared not oppose any other member's pet measure or scheme for fear of creating opposition to his own pet measure.

In the Fifty-first Congress two days were set apart for the consideration of public building bills. Opponents of these measures, led by "Watchdog" Holman, fought them one by one, but they were passed in regular order. The time consumed caused the defeat of the bills low down on the list. Near the close of the last day Holman moved to adjourn.

"Don't adjourn!" shouted Tom Clunie of California, whose bill for San Francisco was next on the list. "Don't adjourn," he pleaded, running down the aisle; "don't adjourn until I've got my piece of pork!"

And the humor of the remark, also the fact that Clunie was a popular Democrat, saved the day for him. Holman was prevailed upon to withhold his motion to adjourn until Clunie's bit of "pork" was lifted from the barrel.

There were many Republicans defeated in the election of 1890, but the most prominent of all were William McKinley and Joseph G. Cannon. They were the chairmen of the most important committees in the House, and at the same time members of the Committee on Rules, and with Reed formed the trio which controlled the House absolutely. When Reed was ready to put through a measure he usually ascertained if the Republicans of the House were ready to support him and the Committee on Rules. Then they brought in the special rule, something that was unknown theretofore, and with it gagged the measure through the House.

"Mack," he would say to Benton McMillin, a Democratic member of the Committee on Rules, when the two Democratic members were called in, "here is an outrage McKinley, Cannon, and myself are about to perpetrate. You will have time to prepare your screams and usual denunciations."

Then he would hand them a copy of the rule which it was proposed to bring forward when the House met.

But two of this mighty trio went down to defeat: McKinley, the author of the tariff bill which bore his name, and Cannon because of a bitter personal fight made upon him on account of words spoken in debate which were subject to two constructions.

McKinley, Cannon, and Tom Carter met at the old Grand Pacific hotel in Chicago after the election. Carter, who had been secretary of the Republican caucus and secretary of the campaign committee, was among the defeated. Being the younger man, he made

the first explanation, saying that he did not want to be a candidate, but was forced to run; that he wanted to retire and attend to his law business, and was really glad, personally, that he would not have to serve another term.

McKinley followed with the explanation that he had increased his vote 200 over the last time he ran, but had been defeated because a Democratic county had been added to his district by a gerrymander. He said that he deplored the defeat of the party, but upon the whole, personally, he was glad to retire to private life.

"That's what I tell all the boys," said Cannon, "but, Mack, don't let's lie to one another."

In connection with explanations of defeat, I am reminded of a remark by Private John Allen who made his first appearance following a congressional election about a week after the session opened.

"I never want to be about the House the first week of the session following an election where the slaughter has been large," said the famous wit. "By the end of that time the fellows who have fallen by the wayside have about finished telling everybody twice over how it happened, and I don't have to listen to their explanations. I have never heard one of them yet admit that he was defeated because he did not get votes enough."

There was an interesting old tradition which amused people going to and from Washington in the days before the new terminal station was constructed. At one point it was possible to see the peak of the Washington monument and the head of the Goddess of Liberty on

the dome of the capitol in line. Anybody fortunate enough to catch these points in juxtaposition was said to be as sure of success in any undertaking as is the man who sees the new moon far around over his right shoulder. I knew one beneficiary of the charm.

Gilbert A. Pierce, once a newspaper man in Chicago, whom Chester A. Arthur sent to Dakota as Governor of the Territory, became a popular favorite in the state of North Dakota and was one of its first Senators. But he was unfortunate in the senatorial lottery, drawing a term of less than two years. He was a candidate for re-election and was opposed by Henry C. Hansbrough, who had been defeated for renomination to the House.

"I shall be elected to the Senate," gleefully declared Hansbrough, who had glimpsed the goddess and the monument in line as he left Washington for North Dakota.

Perhaps he believed in the omen, but Alex. McKenzie, the boss of North Dakota, had more to do with electing Hansbrough than any charm outside the state.

Gil. Pierce would have been a delightful Senator, if he could have remained long enough to have acquired the Senate habit.

I was going to the capitol with Pierce one day and when we passed a little hotel on the upper end of Pennsylvania avenue, he paused a moment and said:

"There is a tragedy going on in that house. Dr. Mary Walker is dying in there. Think of a woman who did so much for the soldiers during the civil war, and who has become such a prominent figure in the country

by her methods and brains, passing the last hours of her life in such circumstances and without friends. A few of us have done what we could, procured medical attendance, and in other ways tried to make her last hours as comfortable as possible, but she has only a short time to live."

And yet Dr. Mary Walker lived on for a quarter of a century, and when she died Gil. Pierce had been in his grave twenty years.

John J. Ingalls was a very disappointed man when Kansas elected William A. Peffer as his successor in 1891. The Populist wave swept over Kansas in 1890 and that party carried the legislature. Ingalls believed he would hold the state. Although his every fiber was of standpat material—the word had not then been coined—yet he had gone as far in the progressive line of those days as a man could, supporting free silver and other doctrines in which he did not believe.

Ingalls' confidence in his re-election and the belief of Senator William D. Washburn of Minnesota that he would be defeated led to an unpleasant incident during the long session of Congress previous to the election. Washburn filed on Ingalls' seat; that is, he made a request, which was recorded in the books of one of the officers, that when the seat occupied by Ingalls was vacated it should be assigned to him. This was one of the choice seats in the Senate, the third from the center aisle, in the second row on the Republican side. Ingalls should not have heard about it, but he did, and entering the cloak room one day he remarked to a group of

Senators, and in tones loud enough for Washburn to plainly hear him:

"What do you think! Some damned skunk has filed on my seat. The damned blackguard thinks I will not be re-elected."

From that time he never spoke to Washburn; not even when he returned after his defeat.

In the small hours of March 4, 1891, Congress passed and the President signed a bill which was the beginning of the conservation movement. A bill passed the House repealing the timber culture law. It contained ten sections. When it passed the Senate it had seventeen sections. It was referred to a conference committee and when it emerged from that joint body and was sent to the President it contained twenty-four sections. Section 24 was short and seemingly unimportant, yet it was the biggest thing in the bill. It provided that tracts of the public domain might be withdrawn from settlement and set apart as forest reserves. Under that law all the great forest reserves were created, resulting in the far-reaching conservation system which has grown with the development of the country, and over which there has been so much contention and discussion.

I do not know who was responsible for section 24 of that land bill. The measure was in the hands of western men to a large extent. I do remember that Harrison and his Secretary of the Interior, John W. Noble, were dissatisfied with the bill as it was first presented, and the western Senators went back and forth

to the White House during the night in an effort to have it shaped up so as to secure the Presidential approval. It was during these conferences that President Harrison was moved to remark, "This free coinage of Senators is something awful."

CHAPTER VIII

LAST REAL SPEAKERSHIP CONTEST

Bitter Fight for the High Office in 1891—Crisp Defeats Mills—First Appearance of William J. Bryan—Religion in Politics—Harrison's Break with His Party Leaders—An Able President with Curt Manners—Did Not Use Patronage as a Club.

THERE has been no real contest for the Speakership of the House of Representatives since 1891. The position of Speaker is not as important as it was before the changes in the rules. There is not very much to fight for now, save the difference between $7,500 and $12,000 in salary. Time was when the Speaker was the second officer in power in this country. Now he is the presiding officer of the House, holding a place of dignity, but lacking the strong control he once exercised when he had the power of recognizing members to move consideration of bills, was Chairman of the once powerful Committee on Rules, and, most potent of all, held members under his thumb by reason of his selection of men for committee assignments.

The Fifty-second Congress, with its tremendous Democratic majority, assembled in December, 1891, and fought out the last real Speakership contest. John G. Carlisle, an ideal Speaker, who rarely was partisan in presiding over the House, had been elected to the Senate,

and Roger Q. Mills of Texas, who had been his floor leader, was at the head of the coterie that ran the House under Carlisle. Charles F. Crisp of Georgia had won his spurs in the great forensic battle with Reed over the counting of a quorum. These were the principal aspirants for Speaker, with Holman of Indiana and Springer of Illinois holding enough votes to prevent a nomination until after many ballots.

All the elements of discord were injected into the fight. Such influence as Grover Cleveland possessed was used to aid Mills. The prestige which Senator Gorman had achieved in defeating the force bill he used in behalf of Crisp.

Trading and dickering, such as rarely happened in like contests, were features of the fight. Crisp's manager, Tom Catchings of Mississippi, did not stop at anything that would win. The support of two minor candidates was secured by promises of chairmanships. Springer became Chairman of the Ways and Means committee and Holman Chairman of Appropriations, after they had withdrawn and voted for Crisp.

Tom Reed, who was selected as the minority leader, was disappointed over the result.

"Personally, I am glad to have Crisp Speaker," he said, "politically, I would have preferred Mills. I think I could have made him throw his gavel at me about three times a week."

Reed well knew Mills' irascibility and hot temper. Mills could not get into a political argument without a display of anger.

Among the young men elected to the Fifty-second Congress was William J. Bryan of Nebraska. In the Speakership fight he voted for Springer; no doubt influenced by the fact that Illinois was his own native state. But he did not go over to Crisp with Springer, continuing to vote his first choice on the final ballot. Bryan landed on the Ways and Means Committee, an unusual distinction, as it is seldom that a new man secures such an important committee assignment.

Bryan won his reputation in a day, speaking on one of the numerous "popgun" tariff bills which Springer's committee was putting through the House for the purpose of embarrassing the Republican Senate. As a member of the committee, Bryan was given an opportunity to make a speech for an hour, but long before the hour expired he was set upon by Republicans and participated in a brilliant running debate. His time was extended indefinitely, for the House had discovered a man.

Curiously enough his first encounter was with John Lind, the only Republican re-elected in Minnesota. Lind wanted to know why cotton bagging machinery had been made free of duty in the bill while a tariff was retained on binding twine machinery. Of course this was one of those sectional questions which Bryan could not answer satisfactorily, but he was clever enough to get along to other subjects and draw the fire of other men. In after years Lind became an ardent Bryan man. He bolted the Republican party in 1896 on the gold plank; as a silver Republican supported

Bryan, and finally landed squarely in the Democratic party. Bryan, when Secretary of State, selected him for a confidential mission to Mexico.

Bryan also spoke on the money question during his first term, opposing state bank currency and urging free silver coinage.

Joseph W. Bailey appeared in the Texas delegation in the Fifty-second Congress. He was young, southern, solemn, and constitutional. He had an obsession about a quorum, stating his position as if delivering an opinion from the Supreme bench, saying that he was "unwilling to have even an unimportant bill pass the House unless a constitutional quorum was present."

Bailey made a great deal of trouble as long as he persisted in having a quorum present, as it often happens that a quorum is not in the House when unimportant legislation is passed. There were frequent roll calls, much to the annoyance of many members. Finally, Dave Culberson of Texas counseled Bailey and succeeded in persuading him to desist. Bailey made progress in the House and became the minority leader in after years.

Another man whose star blazed for a brief time in the political sky was Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, the self-made man and millionaire, a single-taxer, a man whose sense of humor always saved him even when he stood out earnestly for the impossible. Johnson had defeated Theodore E. Burton in the election of 1890.

Contemplating the divisions in the Democratic

House, Johnson remarked: "The Democrats of this House could all belong to a club we have in Cleveland. No man who agrees with another on any subject whatsoever can remain a member. We never have any trouble and only once have we found members obnoxious to the rule. There were two fellows who agreed that they both disliked Grover Cleveland and they had to be expelled."

Two remarkable men took their seats in the Senate in the Fifty-second Congress, David B. Hill of New York, and Calvin S. Brice of Ohio. It was not, however, until a later period that they became prominent.

That the Populist party had made extraordinary advances was shown by the number of its members that was elected. In the House they had a party organization with Tom Watson of Georgia as leader. This brilliant, sorrel-crowned southerner was the Populist nominee for Vice President on the ticket with Bryan in 1896. There also was Jerry Simpson of Medicine Lodge, Kansas, who remained for many years, and as long as he was in the House he always could get a rise out of Nelson Dingley of Maine.

One of the Populists was Kittel Halvorson of Minnesota. His election was one of the unique occurrences in politics. The Democrats wanted some one to run on the Populist ticket so as to take votes from the Republican candidate. So a job was fixed up and Kittel was nominated. A committee waited on him and found him milking a cow in his barn yard. He was informed of his nomination and asked to make the race, but demurred.

"How much will it cost?" he asked.

He was told that the Democrats would finance the campaign. So he ran, and much to the surprise of the Democrats he was elected.

He was urged to run a second time, but not he. Kittel lived on his mileage and stationery account, and in two years salted away $10,000 which he took home with him. It was said that he constantly feared that some one would shake him or stick a pin in him and he would wake up back in the barn yard milking the cow. I never could believe that; not after I heard about the $10,000.

William A. Peffer of Kansas and John H. Kyle of South Dakota were the first Populist Senators. I suppose Peffer's whiskers will be known much longer than his work in the Senate, though he was a man of considerable ability and of a lovable character.

From time to time religious issues develop and have a far-reaching effect on politics. Religion was injected into politics by the A. P. A. movement and had an important effect upon the campaign of 1892. The manner in which the religious influence was brought to bear has never been generally known and is always discussed gingerly as if it contained dynamite. I see no reason why the facts should not be plainly told.

The A. P. A. movement was well underway before 1892. It was strong enough to force legislation restricting denominational education of Indian children. For years it had been the policy of the government to maintain what was known as contract Indian schools,

the contracts being made with churches to educate the Indian children. All churches had an equal opportunity, but the Catholic church, with its usual energy, outstripped the others and had a very large proportion of the schools. The A. P. A. directed its fight against these contract schools.

President Harrison had appointed as Indian Commissioner Gen. Thomas J. Morgan, a Union soldier who had commanded a regiment in Harrison's brigade. Morgan was a Baptist minister and a bigot in religious matters. He took up the matter of abolishing the contract schools with vigor. So thorough was he in this work that priests and nuns who had been teaching on the reservations were sent away under conditions that caused severe criticism.

This drastic policy brought a strong protest from the Church. At one time a number of prominent prelates assembled in Washington. They met to consider matters in connection with the Catholic University, but called in a body to pay their respects to the President. Not only did they pay their respects, but they protested in vigorous terms against the methods of Commissioner Morgan.

President Harrison was in a tight place. Morgan would not resign, and if he were pushed out it would cause a great deal of criticism by the other denominations. Nor would Morgan abate anything in the policy he had adopted toward the contract schools. Harrison had to keep him in office.

There was a wonderful old man about Washington in

those days, Father Stephan, a priest with a long white beard who spent much time among the Indians and was zealous in the propagation of his religion among them. When Harrison refused to remove Morgan and it was known that the Commissioner would continue his course, Father Stephan procured letters from the prelates. These letters said nothing about politics or the approaching election; they simply commended Father Stephan to the consideration of churchmen. That was enough. Father Stephan did the rest, and as he was no novice as a politician, the result of his work was shown in the returns from every place he visited during the campaign. He told leading Catholics what the Harrison administration had done in regard to the Indian schools, and created a spirit of hostility against the Republican party which was far-reaching in its effect upon the election.

Legislation by the states of Illinois and Wisconsin about that time was obnoxious to both Catholics and Lutherans. These states, theretofore considered safely Republican, cast their electoral votes for Cleveland and sent Democrats to the Senate.

William H. Taft, who was selected by Harrison as Solicitor General of the Department of Justice, so favorably impressed the President that he was appointed to one of the circuit judgeships which had been created during the Fifty-first Congress. He also appointed Joseph McKenna to one of these positions, but with great reluctance. McKenna had served several terms in the House and was a member of the

Ways and Means Committee. McKinley warmly urged his appointment as did Carter of Montana and others who were close to the Administration. McKenna was a Catholic and the A. P. A. movement was making itself felt at that time, and Harrison was loath to rouse further adverse comment upon his Administration or offend any number of people. Few men had more insistent friends than McKenna and Harrison finally yielded, but in doing so he did not win the gratitude of McKenna's friends. They believed that religion should not have been considered, and further, the very manner of Harrison in yielding was such as to make the men sore.

Generally the first break which occurs between a President and his party is over patronage. That was the trouble with Benjamin Harrison and his party leaders.

A little group of politicians assembled during the balloting in the Republican national convention of 1888. The principals were Tom Platt of New York, Matt Quay of Pennsylvania, James S. Clarkson of Iowa, and W. W. Dudley of Indiana. In that conference it was agreed that Harrison should be nominated for President. General Dudley, representing Harrison, made certain promises, many of them never fulfilled. Tom Platt did not become Secretary of the Treasury; Matt Quay did not name the cabinet member for Pennsylvania, but instead one of his opponents was selected and the patronage was practically taken away from him. Clarkson instead of securing a cabinet

position or "something equally as good," was relegated to a minor position.

At the Minneapolis convention in 1892 all of these with the exception of Dudley were on hand with their knives out against Harrison. They could not prevent his nomination, but the division in the party was so pronounced as to indicate defeat in the election.

Harrison was one of those remarkable men who gave the country a good administration and yet was rejected by the people. Cold, austere, aloof, able, and fearless, with absolute confidence in himself, he yielded only when under great pressure. In the matter of patronage he deferred to Senators because he had been a member of the Senate, but he often preferred his own judgment to that of Senators and he could turn down a Senator in a way to humiliate him. When Harrison thought an interview had gone far enough he would gaze at vacancy and drum with his fingers on his desk; not a very pleasing performance to a Senator or Representative who had brought a constituent to call upon the President. No man of prominence relishes being drummed out of any place, and particularly in the presence of his friends.

In one contest over patronage a one-armed veteran of the civil war, Captain A. H. Reed, visited Washington to discuss appointments in the third Minnesota district. He was granted an interview by the President and began telling him about the political conditions, and how they might be straightened out by Federal appointments.

"Oh, I know all about the political conditions up there," said the President, impatiently; "much better than you."

"Do you mean to tell me," asked Reed incredulously, "that you know more about the political conditions in my home district where I have lived all my life than I do?"

"Certainly," replied the President, "you have only the narrow personal view and do not comprehend the real situation."

"Then I have nothing more to say," said Reed. "Good day, Mr. President."

And he stalked out of the room.

"He's a dommed icicle," he told his friends when he joined them outside.

He went home and became an anti-Harrison man with all the influence he could exert. Captain Reed was only one of many who were frozen in the White House during Harrison's administration.

It was said of President McKinley that he could refuse a man a favor, pin a carnation in his button hole, and dismiss him in such a manner as to make the visitor feel under great obligations. Harrison had the fatal gift of "doing the right thing in the wrong way." Like many Presidents he had demands made upon him which he could not grant, but when he refused a request he did it in such a way as to make an enemy, and when he granted a request it was often in a manner which did not inspire much sense of obligation on the part of the recipient. One of his successors had much the same fault, which is conducive to unpopularity.

Harrison did nothing in a way that could be considered as granting favors, nor did he ask favors. He was one of the Presidents who did not use patronage as a club to secure legislation. He did not attempt to run Congress. During his term Congress was an important part of the government on its own account; all interests did not center in the White House.

The President was interested in legislation and conferred with members about subjects before Congress. But he did not send for Senators and Representatives and tell them how they should vote, nor threaten them with loss of patronage if they did not vote as he desired. He did not have bills drafted and submitted to him before they were presented to Congress. Sometimes when legislation was pending carrying a provision obnoxious to him, he would send for members interested and tell them he could not approve the bill if it came to him in that form. Harrison consulted frequently with McKinley about the tariff bill, and he was earnest in his support of the election bill, but he did not use patronage to secure votes for such measures. In his Administration members of Congress could not secure patronage by becoming "cuckoos," a species of congressional bird that developed in later administrations.

Although Harrison did not use patronage as a club, he became more and more unpopular with the party leaders. Congressmen, who in after years cussed a President and obeyed him, in Harrison's day cussed the President and did as they pleased. Those familiar with the Harrison administration may well wonder

whether, after all, a cajoling or a domineering President is not as popular as one who keeps hands off and allows Congress to be in fact, as well as in name, a co-ordinate branch of the government.

To some extent President Harrison exerted his influence to prevent the enactment of a free coinage law. Whether he would have vetoed free coinage if a bill had come squarely up to him is not known. Tom Reed saved him the necessity of deciding by defeating free silver in the House. Silver was a live question during his Administration, in fact about the most important question before Congress; and it continued to be so several years after Harrison's term.

Harrison was not long in office before his opposition to free silver caused a break with the silver men of his party. Such strong advocates of free coinage of silver as Teller and Wolcott of Colorado, Jones and Stewart of Nevada, Pettigrew of South Dakota, Mitchell of Oregon, Plumb of Kansas, and others from the West, were in alliance with men from the East who had broken with Harrison over patronage.

CHAPTER IX

CAMPAIGN OF 1892

A Chief Executive Can Renominate Himself and Write the National Platform—$75,000 in a Little Black Bag—Last of the Blaine Plumes and Pompons—Cleveland Wins, His Followers Singing "Four More Years of Grover"—Harrison and His Defeat.

EVERY President has been able to control the national convention of his party. There has been but one exception in the period of which I am writing, and that was when the silver men took possession of the Democratic party in 1896.

Occasionally a President has difficulty in dominating a convention, and his renomination is somewhat in doubt, as was the case with Harrison in 1892 and Taft in 1912. The divisions among Republicans on both these occasions forecast defeat in the elections. A divided party cannot win a Presidential election.

Harrison entered the campaign in 1892 with apparent confidence, though why he or his friends could have had any hope of success is beyond my comprehension. Democratic victories in the elections of 1890 as in 1910 showed that the political pendulum was swinging toward that party.

Harrison was without a manager for the convention in 1892. It was not thought ethical to have a member of

his Cabinet on the ground. The big fellows who brought about Harrison's nomination in 1888 were against him in 1892. The choice for manager fell upon Thomas H. Carter of Montana. He had been defeated for re-election to Congress in 1890 and had been appointed Commissioner of the General Land Office.

Before Carter consented to take charge at Minneapolis he had a conference with the President. In his suave, convincing way he told Harrison that he would accept the responsibility if he could have with him an older man of experience and standing, and suggested Philetus Sawyer, the wealthy and venerable Senator from Wisconsin. Sawyer was sent for and, being an ardent Harrison man, undertook the duty.

On their way to Minneapolis Carter suggested to Sawyer that expenses might be incurred at the convention; that he himself was in no position to meet anything like an extraordinary outlay, particularly if the opposition distributed money among the southern delegates.

"Just so," remarked Sawyer.

They stopped at Milwaukee, and at a bank in which Sawyer was largely interested the Senator drew out $75,000 in various denominations and had it packed in a little black satchel.

"In case," he remarked as they left the bank.

That little black bag was tossed under the bed in Sawyer's rooms and remained there unopened during the convention. The opponents of Harrison had no money to spend on southern delegates and the Presi-

dent's friends were able to hold their men with promises of patronage.

In order to make these pledges Carter had to have assurances which Harrison did not want to authorize. One day, talking by telegraph over the direct wire to the White House, Carter said: "We are here to do serious business in a serious way. It is necessary that some person be authorized by the President to make promises in his name in order to meet the inroads which are being made by the opposition." After some parley Harrison granted the permission, and E. C. Rathbone of Ohio, afterwards known to fame in Cuba, was authorized to make promises of patronage where necessary.

Carter engineered a move at that convention which I never saw equaled but once. He rounded up in a hall the entire Harrison strength, a majority of the convention. Every Harrison delegate was present or accounted for. The strange feature was that the caucus was kept secret for many hours. Pettigrew of Dakota turned a similar trick at a convention in the old territorial days.

The Old Guard which had nominated Harrison in 1888 and were fighting him in 1892 twisted and turned, but could make no headway. In the last extremity they gave McKinley half their strength. McKinley was there as a Harrison delegate and it was hoped he might be caught by the bait and prevent Harrison's nomination on the first ballot. McKinley refused to pull Blaine chestnuts out of the fire and voted for Harrison, although, under the leadership of Governor Foraker,

the other Ohio delegates voted for McKinley. In two subsequent conventions, Foraker placed McKinley in nomination for President, but he was not at all keen for him any of the time.

Having at that time charge of the convention report for the *Pioneer Press*, and feeling sure that Harrison would be nominated, I said so without equivocation. These assertions appeared under blazing headlines every morning. The anti-Harrison men, James S. Clarkson in particular, said the paper was unfair and prejudiced.

When Harrison had been nominated on the first ballot, I stepped down to where Clarkson stood with the Iowa delegation. I was naturally rather satisfied, but after looking at his face I had no desire to spring "I-told-you-so" on him, and merely remarked that I believed in writing political situations as I saw them.

"My boy," he said, kindly, "it is all right; we had nothing but a rope of sand; we did not have a candidate until two days before the convention met."

He referred to the fact that until Blaine resigned from Harrison's Cabinet, he did not permit anyone to say he was a candidate.

Clarkson gazed around the convention hall. The plumes and pompons which had given brilliant color to the various Blaine demonstrations were being removed. Clarkson looked sadly after them.

"It is the last time we shall ever see them," he said. "For five successive conventions I have fought for

Blaine. Do you realize what it means to me to see the end—and without success?"

That man Blaine had a way of making men who came within his influence his steadfast supporters.

Long before the Democratic convention assembled in 1892, it was a foregone conclusion that Grover Cleveland would be nominated a third time for President of the United States. On account of the prospects for success in the election that Fall there were other aspirants, among the most notable David B. Hill of New York and Arthur P. Gorman of Maryland. Hill started too early and Gorman too late. A "snap convention" was held in February by the Hill manipulators and the entire New York delegation was tied up for the Senator. Hill's friends tried to get delegates in the South and did capture a few, among them the Virginians.

But no other candidate had any show against Cleveland. He had not been badly beaten in 1888; in fact, the election had been very close. The Republicans were quarreling and divided, and it was easy to see that the Democrats could win by naming Cleveland. All of the former Cleveland office holders were enlisted in his behalf and exerted every effort to secure Cleveland delegates.

Before the convention met, and while the delegates were assembling in Chicago, I had a fleeting interview with Senator Gorman, which showed his political wisdom. "By going in and taking certain delegates who would leave Cleveland and support me I could

prevent his nomination on the first ballot," said Gorman. "But what good would that do me? Even if I could prevent Cleveland's nomination, it is certain that his friends would be so bitter towards me that they would never support me, and as between Hill and Cleveland I prefer Cleveland.

"But there is a deeper question involved. The two-thirds rule is still maintained, but it should not be used save to prevent the nomination of an entirely unfit man. There are about two-thirds of the delegates for Cleveland. If a little more than one-third of the convention holds out and prevents his nomination, the majority will take matters in hand and abrogate the two-thirds rule. I am not going to be a party to force any action of that kind."

"But the real fact, Senator," I suggested, "is that you are not going to pull chestnuts out of the fire for Dave Hill?"

"That is your inference," he replied, with his bland smile.

Gorman never was near enough to the Presidency to sour his disposition.

There were few high lights in the convention. One was the speech of W. Bourke Cockran who was forced to place Hill in nomination at about 2 o'clock in the morning, while the old wigwam on the Lake front leaked from a pouring rain and the loose flooring almost floated away. Everybody was in ill humor, but the Cleveland men would not consent to an adjournment. One sentence of Cockran's speech stands out in my

recollection. "Cleveland," he said, "is a popular man every day in the year except one; that is election day."

How the Cleveland men howled and hissed!

Then Senator John W. Daniel, Virginia's great orator, while seconding the nomination, was howled down and could not proceed until Bourke Cockran mounted the platform and thundered forth this mighty defiance:

"If New York's candidate and his supporters cannot receive fair treatment, New York will withdraw from this convention!"

That was really fine. It had teeth in it. Thereafter Daniel was allowed to proceed. The Cleveland men did not want to lose the despised Hill-Tammany crowd when election came, and if Cockran's threat had been carried out New York would have been very doubtful in November.

William C. Whitney, who had been Cleveland's Secretary of the Navy, had a great deal to do with bringing about the nomination of Cleveland for a third time. He spent large sums of money securing delegates. There were rumors that money was spent rather freely among certain uninstructed and unpledged delegates at the convention. Near the close of the ballot for President, a row broke out among the delegates from Indian Territory, as some of them claimed they had not received all that had been promised. At that time the votes of the Territory were needed to make two-thirds majority. A Whitney agent was soon among the disputants and everything was arranged in a satisfactory

manner. Cleveland had the necessary two-thirds on the first ballot.

One interesting feature of the convention was the banker looking "cheer-leader" of the Pennsylvania delegation, who on every possible occasion sprang up and had Pennsylvania lead in the chorus:

> Grover, Grover,
> Four more years of Grover;
> Out they go; in we go;
> Then we'll be in clover.

As the whole Cleveland crowd would join in the song, many a Tammany yowl and Hill demonstration was silenced.

On account of the division in the Republican party, Cleveland's election was assured from the time the nominations were made. Big Business was behind him and there was no end of campaign money furnished to the national committee.

President Harrison could not understand his defeat. The only personal talk I ever had with him took place after the election. He attributed the defeat entirely to the strike in Homestead where Pinkertons shot down striking laboring men. He said that his Administration had been made unjustly to bear the blame for that occurrence, and every labor camp in the country had been led to believe that Harrison and the Republican party were responsible for the deaths of workingmen.

It did not seem to occur to him that he had made many enemies by his method of dealing with prominent

politicians and his manner of treating those with whom he came in contact. He did not seem to know that his Indian Commissioner had cost him thousands upon thousands of Catholic votes; that the people resented the tariff increases in the McKinley bill; that in spite of general prosperity there was a great deal of unrest throughout the country.

Carter had made such a successful manager at the convention that he was asked to take charge of the presidential campaign, not as chairman of the committee, but as secretary, while some one more prominent was to be the figurehead chairman.

"I am not going to become a professional secretary," he said.

And after canvassing the situation Harrison chose Carter as chairman. Carter did the best he could, but no one could have won that campaign. On one occasion Matt Quay, who had won the close campaign in 1888, visited the headquarters in New York. As he was leaving, he was asked by the newspaper men what he thought of the situation.

"It's going to be the most one-sided election since 1872," replied Quay, as he stepped into a cab and drove away.

And it was not until he had gone some distance that it drawned upon one of the reporters that Quay had not said which side.

After the election a newspaper man went to see Carter in the well-nigh deserted headquarters and asked if he had anything to say.

"No; nothing for publication," he replied. Gazing dreamily out of a window, he continued:

"A fellow died in this hotel the other day. He'd been here a long time and was known to almost everybody. I heard the manager giving orders regarding the disposition of the body. 'Have him boxed up,' he said. 'Bring the casket up by the freight elevator and take it down the same way. There is nothing so disturbing to people as a funeral about the place.'"

And Carter rubbed his chin whiskers with a far-away look in his eyes.

The effect of the election on the country was immediate and something of a shock. While there was no reason for a man of good political judgment to think that Harrison could be re-elected, it was a great surprise to see the large majority the Republicans had in the Senate wiped out and that body turned over to the Democrats. California, Delaware, Kansas, Nebraska, New York, New Jersey, North Dakota, and Wisconsin elected Democratic Senators in place of Republicans, while in Montana, Washington, and Wyoming no party had a majority in the legislatures and vacanies occurred as the result of deadlocks. In these states the former incumbents were Republicans.

For the first time since the beginning of the Civil War the Democrats had secured control of both legislative branches of the government and the Presidency and were in a position to put their ideas into laws. At all other times when the Democrats were in seeming as-

cendancy they lacked control of one of the departments necessary to enact legislation.

Naturally the first view of the situation was that the Democrats would put into law all that they had been clamoring for during the time they were in the minority. That sent a chill down the spine of the country, especially that portion of it interested in tariff-protected industries. The thought of what was contained in the several "pop-gun" tariff bills passed in the Fifty-second Congress gave the protected industries great alarm.

The cause of the panic which began in 1893, attributed by the Republicans to the Democratic policies and by the Democrats to the legislation of the Republicans, will always be a matter of party dispute. I once heard Senator Dolliver, when asked about that panic and its causes, answer:

"I never attributed the panic of 1893 to the tariff enacted by the Democratic party in 1894."

And that sounds reasonable, but the facts are that the depression began and was caused to a large extent by the uneasiness of industrial business over what might happen to the tariff when the friends of protection were no longer in a position to prevent adverse legislation.

It is a fact that during the closing days of the Harrison administration preparations were made for a bond issue. The succeeding Cleveland administration issued bonds and used the proceeds to defray the expense of the government. The necessity for raising this money was due to the mistaken policy of the Republi-

cans in enacting a tariff so high as to keep out imports, taking the duty off sugar and giving a bounty to sugar producers. But there was also a great falling off in importations when it was known that the Democrats had control of the Government and would largely reduce tariff duties. Importers held off to get the advantage of the reductions; buyers of all kinds of goods affected by the tariff withheld purchases awaiting lower prices; there was a cessation of orders for all kinds of supplies, and a stagnation began which developed into a business panic. This was accentuated by the attack upon the silver purchase law and the general scare about financial conditions.

Benjamin Harrison was blamed for the defeat of the Republican party in 1892, but he was not to blame further than the fact that his personality drove men away from him and made them indifferent as to his re-election. He was defeated because the people were dissatisfied with the Republican legislation of the Fifty-first Congress, principally the McKinley tariff act, under which there had been a very great increase of prices to consumers. Harrison had been elected on the battle cry that the tariff must be revised by its friends. It was supposed that this meant friendly reductions, but the McKinley law increased duties.

Harrison was a pleasant man in the White House so long as his visitors left politics and appointments alone. When business of that kind was mentioned he congealed immediately. He was affable to callers as long as they talked on subjects remote from appointments.

He seemed to have a vigorous antipathy to those who sought office or those who wanted positions for their friends. He did not like advice of any kind and never accepted very much until his nomination for a second term was in danger.

Harrison was a strict churchman. He never missed a Sunday at a Presbyterian church and those whom he saw regularly at service rose in his estimation. So strict was he in regard to Sunday observance that he would not start a minute before 12 o'clock on Sunday night when going on a long journey. The train would be made up and waiting, all arrangements had to be made by the railroad employees on Sunday, but the President would not leave the White House until after the midnight hour.

President Harrison had difficulty from the beginning of his Administration on account of the attempted dominance of the Blaines. Secretary Blaine knew his place, but he had political promissory notes outstanding, and every effort he made to procure offices for his friends showed his lack of influence with the Administration of which he was premier. Blaine tried to make the best of it, but Mrs. Blaine could not so easily accept the fact that they were in second place at best.

Harrison retired from the Presidency a very much disappointed man. But he was more disappointed with the people than himself, for he believed that they had voted under a misapprehension. He lived to see his Administration appreciated and his party regain power. Those who saw him in the later years found that time

had changed his character, and when away from the cares and responsibilities of office he was much different from the austere and cold-blooded man we had known as President of the United States.

CHAPTER X

CLEVELAND'S SECOND TERM

Selects a Strong Cabinet—A Stickler for Secrecy—"Bissell Talks"—Reverses Harrison's Hawaiian Policy—The Unpopular Bond Issue—Thurber Private Secretary—John Barrett's First Appearance—President Cleveland Opens the World's Fair.

WHEN he went into the White House a second time Grover Cleveland selected a very strong Cabinet. He took Walter Q. Gresham off the circuit bench for his Secretary of State. Gresham had held two Cabinet places under Chester A. Arthur. John G. Carlisle, who was made Secretary of the Treasury, had been Speaker of the House. Hoke Smith, one of his fellow members, said Carlisle was a great intellectual machine, a man of tremendous analytical power. When a problem was presented to him, he applied himself to its solution with the sole object of reaching a correct conclusion, whether or not the result was in accord with his wishes.

Carlisle had been Speaker three terms, and upon the death of James B. Beck was elected to the Senate. He was at once given a place on the Finance Committee, but he did not remain long enough in the Senate to show his qualities as a Senator before Cleveland chose him for head of the Treasury Department. When he was appointed, there were rumors that an attack was to be

made upon him, and that all those old stories belonging to a date when Carlisle had been a slave of habit and occasionally committed grave indiscretions were to be revived and published with a view of discrediting Cleveland's Cabinet.

Carlisle's friends in the Senate forestalled the attack by tendering the new Secretary a superb banquet, which was attended by every Senator who was able to be present. Vice President Stevenson presided and Senator Charles F. Manderson of Nebraska, who had been the Republican President pro tem., was the toastmaster. Carlisle was given a great ovation and the dinner accomplished just what was intended. It was a vote of confidence on the part of the Senate without regard to party lines. From that time little was said about the indiscretions of the great Kentuckian.

Richard Olney was one of the best lawyers that ever held the office of Attorney General, and when he succeeded Gresham as Secretary of State, Judson Harmon took his place at the head of the Department of Justice. Wilson S. Bissell and William L. Wilson were successively Postmaster General; Hillary A. Herbert, Secretary of the Navy; Hoke Smith, an aggressive young southern lawyer, Secretary of the Interior, succeeded by David R. Francis, when Smith decided to stand by Bryan; J. Sterling Morton, a solid Democrat from Nebraska, was Secretary of Agriculture.

Daniel S. Lamont was to Cleveland what no other man in any Cabinet has been to any President. He was Cleveland's private secretary during the first Adminis-

tration, but as Secretary of War he was more than a private secretary or a confidential companion. He was Cleveland's most trusted adviser and was the custodian of Presidential secrets. He was also the means of communication—the connection between Cleveland and the big business men of the country, to whom Cleveland's conservative nature turned in most emergencies. Lamont in some respects filled the place of William C. Whitney in Cleveland's first Administration.

Dan Lamont was a great aid to Cleveland in his policy of secrecy. Cleveland did not like talk and discussion about administration affairs. Lamont was with him in that regard, for Lamont was secrecy personified. Only once was he caught off his guard when he said that "Gen. Miles is a newspaper soldier." That was the only thing that escaped him during his four years in the War Department. Cleveland disliked to have Cabinet members talking about their departments or appearing in interviews. I had an amusing experience in this connection.

Every man on the Associated Press in those days was requested to turn in "early morning copy," stories that could be sent out when the wires opened and used in early editions of the afternoon papers. One day after I had been chatting with the Postmaster General, I wrote a story about the aims and intentions of that official and used quotation marks rather freely. It was not sent out for a day or two, and finally appeared in the *Evening Star* on a day when the Cabinet met, and Cleveland had given the members a dressing down for talk-

ing and appearing in the papers with all kinds of interviews.

When I went to the Postoffice Department that afternoon I was told by half a dozen employees that the Postmaster General wanted to see me. I went to his office and he began roaring at once. He was in a towering rage and it was some time before I found out what he was driving at. He picked up a copy of the *Star* and shook it at me, then showed me a quarter of a column story under the heading, "Bissell Talks."

"What do you mean by interviewing me?" he shouted. "Don't you know Cabinet members must not be interviewed?"

"It's harmless," I said; "you didn't say anything of consequence."

"That's not it!" he shouted. "Look at it! 'Bissell Talks!' 'Bissell Talks!' Damn it!"

And then I laughed, and he, being a good man weighing 300 pounds, calmed down, smiled and told me where the trouble lodged.

"Perhaps he won't see it," he sighed, "but don't do it again."

"Three-fourths of the time at Cabinet meetings was occupied by a discussion of foreign questions," Hoke Smith told me. "The purely domestic matters Cleveland took up with members of the Cabinet in whose departments they belonged."

"Grover Cleveland," said this same admirer, "believed the Constitution was one of the greatest documents ever written. And so do I. I doubt

whether the amendments have improved it. Cleveland opposed anything new, but when once convinced that new propositions were right he held to them."

"Cleveland considered all great questions with his chosen advisers."

Two acts soon after Cleveland became President the second time made him unpopular. One was the bond issue and the other was in regard to Hawaii. As to the bond sale it was shown that the Harrison administration was getting ready to issue bonds before Cleveland entered the White House. The manner in which the bonds were disposed of at private sale caused the severest criticism, as the syndicate made a handsome profit by handling them.

Cal. Brice made a diagram which he showed to his fellow Senators.

"This inner circle with four dots," he explained, "represents Benedict, Stetson, and two others. They got the bonds at par. In the next circle are eight dots representing the fellows who got them at 108. Outside you see numerous dots representing the general public upon whom the bonds were unloaded at 112. It was a beautiful scheme. I'm sorry I was not one of the four."

President Cleveland was in great haste to reverse one policy of his predecessor. Five days after his inauguration, he withdrew from the Senate the treaty which had been negotiated by President Harrison providing for the annexation of Hawaii to the United States. The new born Republic of Hawaii had received

material assistance from the United States Navy, just as did another sudden Republic ten years later. Queen Liliuokalani, the Kanaka ruler, was dethroned and a new government placed in power.

Walter Q. Gresham, who might have been President if Harrison had not defeated him for the Republican nomination in 1888, was vindictive enough against his old competitor to leave the circuit bench and become the premier in a Democratic Cabinet in order to reverse one of Harrison's pet schemes. He savagely attacked the Hawaiian policy of the Harrison administration, and carried his feelings to the extent of restoring the Queen and bolstering up the worn-out dynasty with American force.

No diplomatic act had created such a flurry in years. It was the cause of much comment, some of it very severe. There was a feature of ridiculousness in the whole proceeding, and the Gridiron Club made a burlesque of the incident which greatly incensed Cleveland.

Our Government spread its wings diplomatically that year. Up to that time all foreign envoys from the United States were designated as ministers, and only ministers represented foreign governments in this country. Congress passed a law providing that a minister from this country accredited to a foreign government should be raised to the rank of ambassador whenever that country raised its minister to equal rank. England was the first country to act under this law. Sir Julian Pauncefote, then representing Great Britain at Washington, was made an ambassador. Thomas F.

Bayard, our minister to Great Britain, became the first ambassador from the United States to a foreign country.

One of the new ambassadors was Baron Fava, of Italy, who up to that time had been dean of the Diplomatic Corps, but Sir Julian's earlier designation as ambassador gave him the precedence. Baron Fava was an interesting character, and was "near" in all matters pertaining to expenditures. His home and household cost him little and he never made any great display. The State Department uses a distinctive kind of paper for its diplomatic correspondence. Usually it is quite generous, and notes to embassies and legations, when occupying only a few lines, are sent on double sheets, the last two pages of which are blank. Baron Fava would carefully divide these blank sheets from the State Department notes and write his replies upon them. The State Department officials could easily recognize their own paper when it was thus returned.

Mr. Cleveland appointed Henry T. Thurber as his private secretary. The office had not then been dignified by the title Secretary to the President. Thurber was a Michigan lawyer, a right clever, well-meaning man, but without knowledge of public men or conditions in Washington. Soon after he was installed in office E. G. Dunnell of the New York *Times* called upon him. Dunnell was an old line Democrat, one of the few Washington correspondents on intimate terms with Cleveland, and a man of great force and dignity.

"Oh," exclaimed Thurber, when Dunnell had in-

troduced himself; "I suppose you have come around for little items for your paper."

Dunnell, who had a keen sense of humor, grimly told the story on himself.

On another occasion Thurber telephoned to P. V. DeGraw, Superintendent of the United Press, saying that he had a piece of news for him. DeGraw had travelled over the country with Cleveland during his first Administration and knew him well. He at once went to the White House thinking there must be something important coming when the Superintendent was requested to get the story. He went direct to Thurber's room.

"Ah, glad to see you, Mr. DeGraw," affably remarked the private secretary. "I have appointed Arthur Simmons as my door deeper and you are the first man to get the news."

Simmons was a North Carolina negro as black as the ace of spades.

But Thurber learned as he remained at the White House, and very often was accommodating to those who knew him. I have in mind one occasion when he was of material assistance.

I was at that time correspondent of the St. Paul *Pioneer Press.* St. Paul was about to give James J. Hill a magnificent testimonial for what he had done as an empire builder in the Great Northwest. The paper wanted a letter from Cleveland commending Hill, which could be reproduced just as it was written, and which was to be published on the day of the celebration.

When I first made inquiries at the White House about getting such a letter, the veteran O. L. Pruden, who had been on duty for time unknown, and was assistant secretary, shook his head from side to side and said that it was impossible; that it was without precedent; no President had ever done any such thing; and I don't know what else. But I told Thurber that I wanted to present the matter to the President personally and see if I could not convince him that it would be a good thing to do. Thurber made the appointment for me and Cleveland consented, after I told him what was wanted and the occasion.

Cleveland wrote the letter to Hill. He first wrote it out in his own hand, but having to make an interlineation he had it copied in typewriting. I tried to get his permission to publish it interlineation and all, but he said it did not look like good workmanship.

Early in 1893 John Barrett made his first appearance in Washington. He was a Vermonter by birth, a self-made man, who had worked his way through college. Soon after his graduation he went to Oregon and became a reporter on a Portland paper. After Cleveland's inauguration he came to Washington with a number of other Oregon Democrats, and they all waited patiently for the plums to fall. They visited the Washington office of the *Oregonian* frequently to read the news from home and give me information of their doings and prospects, which I telegraphed to the *Oregonian*. At first they stayed at good hotels, but as the weeks lengthened into months they adopted the plan of other

office-seekers and sought cheap rooms and cheap restaurants.

Barrett furnished the greater part of the news and I used his name quite frequently. Finally I received a telegram from Frank Carle, the managing editor, who could be irascible at times, and knew Barrett as a cub reporter. "Say nothing more of this man," it read, "he is of no consequence whatever."

A few days later Barrett was appointed Minister to Siam. He heard the news at the little restaurant where the Oregon men, who still lingered in Washington, were dining. The man who was designated that particular night to invest three cents in the *Evening Star* was a little late, and when he arrived, said:

"John, you've landed; I congratulate you."

"Let me see," said Barrett, reaching for the paper. And there it was in plain reading matter among the appointments of that day. Barrett left the table and walked toward the door.

"Hold on, John," said one of the men, "you're not going to let this spoil your dinner, are you?"

"I scarcely think," said Barrett, as he paused for a moment, "that it comports with the dignity of the Minister to Siam to be dining in this place and in this company."

And he stalked out leaving the others almost petrified.

Grover Cleveland pressed the button which opened the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, and by that act came near winning undying fame. For many years there had been a strip of uncompleted frieze

inside the dome of the capitol. The frieze represents in paintings important events in the history of the country, beginning with the discovery of America, and carried on to the finding of gold in California.

There was space for one more picture, and several attempts had been made to complete the frieze. The next great event after the discovery of gold was the Civil War, but the southerners have always been able to prevent a picture of the surrender at Appomattox being placed in the group and the northerners would never consent to a Civil War scene representing an indecisive engagement, such as the battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*.

In 1893, a bright intellect conceived the idea that a picture of Grover Cleveland pressing the button opening the World's Exposition would make a fitting conclusion to the train of historical episodes, from the discovery of America to the celebration of the 400th anniversary of that great achievement. But before any action could be taken on the suggestion, Congress went through the silver fight. After that Cleveland could not have received commemoration as a dog catcher. He was never popular with Republicans and the silver Democrats in Congress hated him with all the intensity of men who split with their party. And that idea of completing the frieze went glimmering.

CHAPTER XI

REED DISCOVERS BRYAN

Nebraska Orator Considered Worth While by the Man from Maine—Foresight of Reed Justified as Bryan Develops—Repeal of the Silver Purchase Law—Long Filibuster in the Senate Fails—Bryan Leads Forlorn Hope in the House—Silver Repeal Legislation Has Far-Reaching Political Effect.

TOM REED picked Bryan as a coming man before the Nebraska orator had completed his first term in the House of Representatives. Reed did not say that Bryan was worth while or predict anything for him in the future, but by taking notice of him in his first term, the Republican leader indicated that he considered this new member as a man of possibilities.

Reed had to be constantly on his guard to avoid debates with "little fellows," men who thought they had accomplished something if they had been in a "tilt with Reed." Tom Reed generally selected his antagonists. He liked a "foeman worthy of his steel." He liked to debate with men of ability and standing. Not often did he go out of his way to notice any man, but he seemed to look upon Bryan as one of the coming Democrats of the country.

Near the end of his first term Bryan became somewhat prominent in the House as the opponent of a bill favored by his party leaders. It was nearly a month before Cleve-

land was inaugurated a second time, and in the Democratic House a bill was pushed which provided for the repeal of the silver purchase law, the compromise silver law enacted by the Republicans over the protest and vote of every Democrat in Congress. After Cleveland was elected and his policy regarding money became known, the free silver men saw that the silver purchase act was their last anchor; that when it was repealed there would be an end to the white metal as money. Bryan was opposed to the repeal bill and had spoken about true Democracy standing for silver, making a speech which attracted the attention of the former Speaker.

"I can sympathize with the gentleman from Nebraska, Mr.Bryan," said Reed, at the close of a short speech which he made on the merits of the bill. "He has been in the habit of listening to the shoutings of the Democratic party, from the highest to the lowest, in favor of free silver and what they call the 'good of the people!' Well, he finds now that, in power, even the Democratic party has got to obey the everlasting laws of common sense. When they are in the minority they can throw their limbs about in all sorts of contortions; they can look any way they think beautiful.

"But when they come into power they have got to act according to the eternal verities, and that is going to be a great shock to him on every occasion. He is going to see the leader of the House quail on the subject of free trade. He is going to see 'patriots' all around him operating as some of them are going to operate to-

day, and I beg of him to summon to his assistance that stoicism which his countenance indicates, in order to help him in his very mournful future."

In view of Bryan's three defeats for the Presidency those last words seem almost prophetic.

At other times Reed engaged Bryan in debate, showing that he thought well of his ability. It occasionally happened that when Reed ignored or declined a controversy with a man he considered of little account, the member would say in the cloak room, "Big Tom Reed was afraid of me." Such a remark would not be repeated, for it only brought jeers from Democrats who had been long associated with Reed. They knew that he feared no man at any time or any place, and in debate he was more than a match for any man in the House.

One day, long after the silver bill had passed, Reed and Bryan had a running debate on the tariff. That evening one of Reed's New York friends asked him how his speech on the tariff was received.

"All right," replied Reed, "until that young man Bryan began asking questions, and I lost control of my audience. It ceased to be a discussion of a great subject and became an exchange of questions and answers, quips and jests."

Grover Cleveland and a Democratic Congress had been elected on the tariff issue, but Cleveland called a special session of Congress in August, 1893, to repeal the silver purchase law. The big financial interests of the country were opposed to the inflation of the cur-

rency which was going on at the rate of $4,500,000 a month by the purchase of silver bullion and issue of silver treasury notes in the same amount. They also insisted that the purchase of silver and inflation of the currency was the cause of the depression and panic then prevailing. The real cause of the panic of that time has been a disputed political question, but the silver question was the universal subject of discussion.

Along in the summer the financial men began to urge Cleveland to call an extra session. An important group went to Washington and saw the President at the White House in the evening. They were insistent upon an extra session for the repeal of the silver purchase law. Cleveland demurred. Like some other Presidents, he did not have much use for Congress. He was author of the expression about "having Congress on my hands." He was more vigorous in expressing his views than his successors who have disagreed with the legislators.

"Who can tell what the damned scoundrels will do when we get them here?" he asked.

"We have had a canvass made of the Representatives," was the reply, "and we are sure of a good majority for repeal in the House. The trouble is with the Senate, where there is a majority for free silver."

"I can take care of the Senate," responded Cleveland; "they are a lot of damned old patronage brokers."

The extra session was called. Cleveland was right in one particular. The use of patronage did win over

enough silver Democrats to insure a majority for repeal in the Senate.

The bill for the repeal of the silver purchase law was introduced in the House by William L. Wilson of West Virginia. At that session Speaker Crisp had no promises to fulfill on account of his election, for he was the unanimous choice of his party for a second term. He chose Wilson for Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in place of Springer, and made Joe Sayres of Texas Chairman of Appropriations in place of Holman. These changes served to emphasize the trade made two years before when Crisp defeated Mills. The choice of Wilson made him floor leader and he had charge of the bill he had introduced. He was assisted by such men as the two Breckinridges, Bynum, Caruth, Catchings, Outhwait, McCreary, Oates, Turner, Democrats of prominence at the time, all of whom had voted for free silver in the Fifty-first Congress. In fact, the reversal of the position of fifty or sixty other Democrats on the subject of silver was one of the interesting features of the session. At least that number supported the repeal bill, although they had been either vigorously or passively for free silver only three years before. Many of them asserted that they were still earnestly for free coinage of silver, but that it was first necessary to get rid of the silver purchase law which blocked the way of silver. That argument was all very well for an excuse, especially for those who represented free silver constituents, but these men not only voted for repeal of the silver purchase law,

but they also voted against an amendment for free coinage.

The repeal of the silver purchase act in the Senate demonstrated that a majority in the Senate can pass any measure that is supported by public sentiment. Filibusters have been successful in the Senate whenever the apparent majority is not real; when Senators feel obliged to vote for a bill if a vote is reached, but who are secretly aiding the opponents of the bill and helping to prevent a vote. But a real majority can force a vote without cloture. A minority can defeat a bill for a time, but ultimately it must yield to a determined majority backed by the people.

A majority of the men in the Senate in the Fifty-second Congress had voted or declared for free silver. By the skillful use of patronage Cleveland changed a number of Democratic votes, while the anti-silver Republicans who had in 1890 supported the silver purchase bill as a compromise—a sort of cyclone cellar when the free coinage tornado threatened—were anxious for repeal.

There never was a similar contest in the Senate. For nearly three months the silver men of both parties filibustered against a vote. It was altogether a different fight than that made against the force bill. Then the Democrats were united and it was party against party; the end of the term of Congress was near, and the minority only had to hold off a vote until 12 o'clock on March 4th to win their fight.

In the silver fight the parties were divided. The

minority was composed almost equally of Democrats and Republicans. Matt Quay once told me that he put no reliance in a coalition of wings of the two parties. "Sooner or later," he said, "the lure of party will be too strong, and men with whom you have made hard and fast agreements will desert you and join their party associates."

That was what happened in the silver fight. The men from the silver states, six of whom had voted to set aside the force bill, thought that the southern Senators should have stood by them forever, but the southern men could not withstand the pressure that was brought to bear upon them. They were opposing the President of their party and they were not getting any patronage for hungry constituents. They were accused of standing out for silver, in which the South had no interest, and in doing so were disrupting the Democratic party. The constant pounding of the daily papers was becoming unbearable. Finally, the veteran Harris of Tennessee went over to Fred Dubois of Idaho, the floor leader of the silver Republicans, and in his shrill, cutting voice, said:

"Dubois, I told you that we would stand by you until hell froze over. We have had another look at our hand and must lay down."

Isham G. Harris enjoyed a game of draw poker as much as any man in Congress, hence his figurative language on this important occasion.

A few days later the repeal bill passed the Senate, ending a memorable contest which, while it lasted,

confirmed what Reed said about the "tyranny of the minority." But the minority could not win. Vain were the six days' talk by Jones of Nevada; the long-winded diatribes of Big Bill Stewart, when he raved about the "crime of '73"; the scoldings of Teller and the cutting speeches of his colleague, the brilliant Wolcott; vain was that long-distance speech of Allen of Nebraska, who occupied the floor for fifteen hours; all the time and words were useless. The nation had decreed the repeal of the silver purchase law and its fate was inevitable.

The repeal bill had to go to conference after it passed the Senate, and on the adoption of the conference report the silver men in the House made their last stand. It was here that Bryan became the leader of the forlorn hope and went down with his sixteen-to-one guns blazing forth prophecies of future success. Why did no one, save Tom Reed, see the coming Democratic leader in this young champion of the white metal? Poor old Dick Bland could no longer fight when he knew that certain defeat stared him in the face. The silver banner fell from his almost nerveless hands. But it was quickly raised aloft by Bryan, who bore it forward with all the animation of one whose visions are realities for the time being. Perhaps that is why Bryan instead of Bland was the nominee in 1896.

Bryan had been in the thick of the fight against the repeal bill before it passed. When the final stages were reached, and the adoption of the conference report would send it to the President, he made his fight more

strenuous. Long after Bland and other leaders for silver on the Democratic side, as well as the few Republicans from the silver states, had retired and given up, Bryan continued the fight and conducted a filibuster for more than an hour, making all sorts of motions, which would have been ruled out as dilatory by any other Speaker than the good-natured Crisp. Bryan was opposing William L. Wilson, who still had charge of the bill. In less than a year he was one of the enthusiastic young men who hoisted Wilson on their shoulders and bore him out of the chamber when the Wilson tariff bill passed the House.

Bryan was vehement in protesting against the "gag" methods by which silver was to be strangled in the House of its supposed friends. He declaimed vigorously for free speech and the right of every man to be heard. Time makes many changes. The same Bryan, in the winter of 1915, urged Vice President Marshall to apply the gag to pass the ship purchase bill. When the filibuster was exhausted, and the vote was to be taken, Bryan closed the debate for the silver men. After making predictions about the dire calamities that would follow this ruthless striking down of silver, the money of the Constitution and the people, he said:

"I hope we are wrong, but we are not. Silver will yet lay aside its grave clothes and its shroud. It will yet rise and in its rising and reign will bless mankind."

The remark shows the Bryan tendency to mix religion and politics. An echo of this statement was

heard in the convention of 1896, when Bryan made his famous "cross of gold" speech.

The repeal of the silver purchase law had a far-reaching political effect. It split the Democratic party, united the Populists of the country with the silver wing of Democracy, and while the division of the Democrats caused them many successive defeats, it is possible that it saved the party from disruption in the southern states.

The repeal bill overshadowed the tariff, upon which elections had been lost and won, and became the only subject of importance as an issue in the campaign of 1896. McKinley was nominated for President on his tariff record and elected President on the gold plank in the platform at St. Louis. Bryan was nominated on the record he had made for silver, but not that made in Congress. It was his speech on the platform in support of the silver plank which won him the plaudits of the silver Democrats and their votes.

CHAPTER XII

GREAT TARIFF FIGHT OF 1894

Battle Over the Wilson Bill in the Senate—Champ Clark's Struggle for a Hearing in the House—Protection Democrats Force Concessions—Secretiveness of Vest—Jones a Friend in Need—Cal. Brice—Baiting Low Tariff Men—Final Contest between Cleveland and the Senate.

THE tariff contest of 1894 was in the Senate. There were no incidents of any moment connected with the Wilson bill in the House save the struggle that Champ Clark made to get his head above water. Champ was ambitious to get along. He was a new man and was overshadowed in the Missouri delegation by such men as Dockery, De Armond, Cobb, Tarsney, Hatch, Heard, and, in fact, all who had longer service. Champ wanted to talk on the tariff. When the silver bill was considered those in charge of the bill allowed him an hour at one of the evening sessions. This sop was not satisfactory to Clark. On the tariff he wanted to talk to the members of the House, not to galleries filled with Washington people out for an evening's amusement.

"I decided to take chances under the five-minute rule," said Champ, relating how he circumvented those who seemed determined to keep him in the background. "I got me up a speech of an hour and a half and cut it

up into five-minute talks. The first time I was recognized I spoke five minutes; the next time I had an extension of five minutes; the third time I was given two extensions. The fourth time I had a rough-and-tumble with a number of Republicans, and the House let me go on until I finished my speech."

That was where Champ Clark made his reputation in the House. Always given to strong Saxon words, he was much less smooth and polished in that day than in later years when the presidential bee began to buzz around his ears.

The Wilson bill had a stormy time in the Senate. The majority of Democrats would have passed the bill without many changes from the low tariff measure of the House, but Gorman of Maryland, Brice of Ohio, Smith of New Jersey, and Murphy of New York, decided there must be more protection in the measure. The Democratic majority in the Senate was so narrow that these four men could force the increases they wanted or defeat the bill. More than six hundred amendments were made and in the final test the House swallowed all of them.

The tariff bill was not passed without a sugar scandal and an investigation. The sugar investigation of 1894 is a part of the legislative history of the time, but furnished a number of interesting side-lights. At one time it was proposed to call before the committee every chairman of a national committee to inquire whether they received contributions from the sugar trust.

"I apprehend," said Cal. Brice, who had been a na-

tional chairman, "that if those men were called, it would be found that they have forgotten everything connected with money transactions. They never keep an elaborate set of books. I do not believe they would remember from whom money was received, or to whom money was paid. It is not a part of their business to burden their minds with such details."

Matt Quay was the only Senator who had speculated in sugar. He said so; the others said they hadn't. That settled it with the Senate. It is true that Senator McPherson's cook ran out and filed a telegram that was lying around loose at the Senator's house, and it turned out that this telegram authorized the purchase of a few thousand shares of stock for the New Jersey Senator. But that was an oversight which the Senate was perfectly willing to forgive. An official of a brokerage house was jailed because he would not answer questions about senatorial speculations in sugar; and a newspaper man was held under arrest for a time because he would not disclose the sources of information contained in an article he published about sugar trading.

But it was a good time to speculate in sugar, and Senators knew a great deal about what was going on. Brice told me one day when sugar was going up that it would keep going higher until it touched 100. That top price was reached soon afterwards, but was held at that figure only a short time. The owners and manipulators had promised somebody, or several persons perhaps, that sugar would reach that price. Commissioner Lamoreaux of the General Land Office told me

he had made $34,000 from an investment of $5,000. "Dan Lamont (Secretary of War) told me to buy," said the Commissioner, "and said to hold on until a certain price was reached. I watched it crawl up to that price and then closed out the speculation."

The management of the tariff bill was in the hands of George G. Vest of Missouri and James K. Jones of Arkansas, who were the tariff experts of the Finance Committee. Daniel W. Voorhees of Indiana was Chairman of the Committee and had nominal charge in the Senate, while Isham G. Harris of Tennessee was the parliamentary floor leader. It was the especial duty of Harris to keep the Senate in session, particularly when there seemed a disposition to filibuster against the bill. He would not allow adjournments until late at night and sometimes forced evening sessions. One day when Harris was asleep in the cloak room, a quiet understanding was reached and the Senate adjourned early in the afternoon.

"The damned infernal buzzards!" shrilled Harris, coming out of the door; "they adjourned the Senate on me while I was asleep!"

Vest was one of the most secretive men I ever knew. After each of the many caucuses which were held to consider the bill he would have Col. Edwards, his trusted employee, gather up every copy of the bill and lock them up. No Senator was allowed to keep one for fear of a leak. Jones was more liberal. I don't know what we should have done but for the kindly help of the Arkansas Senator. Every newspaper man who had to

secure facts on the tariff in those days would have been in a bad way but for the consideration of Jones, whose knowledge of what was in the bill was superior to that of any other man in the Senate.

As an example of Vest's secretiveness I will mention an instance. Secretary Carlisle was to appear before the Democratic members of the Finance Committee and present the sugar schedule which had been fixed up in the Treasury Department. I was not sure that Carlisle had reached the Capitol, and when I saw Vest coming from the room I asked him if the Secretary had been there.

"I don't know whether he has or not," replied the Missouri Senator.

Just then another Senator opened the door and there was Carlisle, talking with the remaining members of the committee.

At one caucus Vest had been very severe in denouncing the leaks which allowed the proceedings to be published in the newspapers. His remarks had effect, for no one could get a Senator to breathe a word of what had taken place. Even Jones put us off by saying that "Vest has been raising hell over the publication of tariff matters."

After trying everybody who might give a hint of what had occurred, two or three men went as a forlorn hope to see Cal. Brice. We had to wait until he awoke from the nap, which he always took before dinner.

"Let's tackle him one at a time," some one said, for we knew that a man would often speak more freely

when only one newspaper man was present, because in case a denial became necessary it would be one man's word against another and no witnesses for corroboration. Brice came into the room a little later in full evening dress and I went up to him.

"I'm in a hurry," he said, "I'll talk to you all at once," and he beckoned the others to come forward. "Now what do you want?"

"The caucus—" began one.

"Oh yes, the caucus," broke in Brice. "Vest shut us all up to-day, and scolded about the leaks. Well, let's see what did happen there?"

And he went on and gave us a full account of everything he could remember; what was said and by whom; what action was taken and why. It was the best report of a caucus that appeared during the entire struggle.

Those were trying days for low tariff men. It was the delight of Senator Hoar of Massachusetts frequently to call the attention of Senator Mills of Texas to the duty on coal which was maintained in the bill.

"In New England during several campaigns," he would say, his Pickwick face beaming, "the Senator from Texas promised our people that when the Democrats came into power and made a tariff bill our manufacturers should have free coal."

Mills would rant and storm, and boldly tell how the real low tariff men were held up by Democratic protectionists, forcing the real tariff reformers to take what they could get or see the tariff bill defeated. He would glare at Gorman, Smith and Brice, whom he

frequently denounced as Democratic traitors, although he did not name them. The two former would sit apparently unconcerned, and Brice would smile sardonically.

Brice would also take a hand in badgering. He would go to Senator Berry of Arkansas, who was more of a free trader than any man in the Senate. It was about the time the somewhat famous "Jones Amendments" were voted into the bill. These amendments were forced into the bill by Matt Quay's threat of talking the bill to death unless Pennsylvania interests were better cared for. He had on his desk a pile of manuscript a foot high, and he read the sheets with much deliberation. After several days the Democratic caucus consented to make many changes in the bill.

"Berry," Brice would say to the one-legged Confederate veteran; "Berry, I see you have just voted for protection again. What will your Arkansas constituents say about that? Voting for protection! Allied with the plutocrats and robber barons! Tied up with the money devil! Berry, I'm afraid those Arkansas people will say you have been corrupted."

Berry would shake his long mane, grind his teeth, and mutter:

"Goll durn 'em! goll durn 'em!"

The contest between the President and the Senate occurred after the tariff bill passed the Senate. The differences between the Democrats of the Senate and Cleveland had been growing more and more acute. Gorman had made his celebrated speech denouncing

Cleveland. It is not often that a party leader defies the President of his party. It was brave enough, but later it cost Gorman his seat in the Senate.

It was a contest nominally between the Senate and House, but Cleveland was back of the House and it was really his fight. Speaker Crisp and all of his lieutenants became Cleveland supporters for the time. The position of the Senate conferees was clearly untenable. They refused to change or concede a single item, not even a punctuation mark. The House, Vest told the conferees of that body, must accept the bill as the Senate passed it, with all its protection amendments; to take the bill back into the Senate would mean its defeat and no tariff legislation. Both sides stood firm. Day by day the White House said the Senate must yield and grant a free conference on the bill, and day by day the Senate refused to budge.

The House conferees told the Senate conferees the bill was full of protection iniquities. "That may be true, but nevertheless and notwithstanding you have got to accept it," replied Vest, and he told them a little illustrative story.

In a far western music hall the manager, stepping on the stage, announced: "Miss Birdie Annadale, the gifted soprano, will now sing 'Down in the Valley.'"

A half-drunken rounder bawled out that Miss Birdie Annadale couldn't sing for sour apples, and further that she was anything but a lady, or words to that effect.

"Nevertheless and notwithstanding," suavely re-

plied the manager, "Miss Birdie Annadale will now sing 'Down in the Valley.'"

It happened that way with the tariff bill: "nevertheless and notwithstanding" all that was said by the House conferees and the White House, the House accepted all the amendments. Cleveland let the bill become a law without his signature, contenting himself by writing a letter to Congressman Catchings of Mississippi charging the Senate Democrats with "party perfidy and dishonor," words which did not help the relations between the White House and the Senate and which the Republicans used with great effect during the campaign then in progress.

Dave Hill and Ed. Murphy, the New York Senators, split on the tariff bill. Murphy was with Gorman, Brice and Smith in trying to get more protection in the bill. Murphy was granted a high rate on collars, cuffs and shirts manufactured at his home in Troy, and that satisfied him. Hill made a great fight for free raw materials and a vigorous assault upon the income tax provision, and because it remained in the bill refused to vote for it.

Senator William E. Chandler was responsible for an exciting scene in the Senate at an evening session while the tariff bill was under consideration. One of those "gentleman's agreements" had been reached, which meant that the tariff bill was to be passed without much more discussion or opposition by the Republicans. An evening session had been arranged to run through unobjected portions of the bill. Chandler had incor-

porated into the unanimous consent agreement a proviso that he should be allowed to make a speech if he so desired. The New Hampshire Senator was so constituted that he did not like to have a day close without some sort of a partisan or sectional controversy. He generally brought this about by baiting the Democratic side, usually upon the race question, until he had several southern Senators in a heated and angry colloquy with him. He was so artful that he could always get a rise out of Tillman, Bacon, or Mills.

When the Senate met at night to consider uncontested matters in the tariff bill, there were a few members present; a few stragglers in the galleries and one or two newspaper men who had to be there. Chandler began at once and without any apparent care whether he had an audience or not. He said the Democrats, if right and justice had been observed, would have no power to pass a tariff bill. He attacked the validity of the election of John Martin of Kansas, and then turned on William N. Roach of North Dakota.

I had known Roach in territorial days. He had been elected mayor of one of the mushroom towns; had been a member of the territorial legislature; and four years after North Dakota was admitted as a state, bolting Republican members of the legislature voted with the Democrats and elected him United States Senator. Therefore it was with great surprise that I listened to Chandler, who charged Roach with being a defaulting bank clerk in Washington City, and read records to sustain his charge.

Of course this made a mighty sensation. When Chandler concluded, Martin became excited and said harsh words about Chandler. Roach, during the excoriation, paced back and forth behind the Democratic seats, opening and closing a big clasp knife. Occasionally he visited the Senate restaurant and drank a glass of whiskey. His friends watched him closely fearing he might make a murderous assault upon Chandler.

But neither in the Senate nor elsewhere did he ever attempt to make any explanation of the charges against him.

Senator Hill attempted to reply to Chandler, but it was no place for a third party, even so good an advocate as Hill. That was a time for a man holding a seat on the floor of the Senate to defend himself. Hill could not do himself justice nor his fellow Democrats any good at such a time.

CHAPTER XIII

A YEAR OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

Besides the Tariff 1894 Furnished Many Historical Incidents—Senator Hill Defeats Cleveland's Supreme Court Nominations—Coxey's Army Marches to Washington—Republican Landslide in the Congressional Elections—Last of Many Prominent Democrats—Champ Clark Lauds Bryan.

WHILE the tariff was the big question in 1894, much else occurred to focus attention upon the National Capital. It was the year of the big railroad strike requiring Federal interference; Coxey's and other commonweal armies marched on Washington; an election was held which began a prolonged period of Republican domination; and an interesting contest over the selection of an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court took place. That was a memorable affair.

Early in 1894, President Cleveland sent to the Senate the name of William B. Hornblower of New York to be Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. His confirmation was defeated by Senator Hill. Cleveland then named Wheeler H. Peckham of New York and Hill defeated his confirmation. The President then nominated Edward Douglas White, a Senator from Louisiana, as Associate Justice and he was confirmed at once. Hornblower and Peckham were rejected before the tariff bill had been taken up in the Senate. Hill's position on

that bill made him so many enemies in his own party that it is doubtful whether he would have been able to defeat either of these nominations had they been sent to the Senate after the tariff bill fight. But before the tariff fight many Democrats supported Hill because they disliked Cleveland. This was particularly true of the silver Democrats, who still felt resentment because Cleveland had become such a confirmed gold standard man, and had not only secured the repeal of the silver purchase law, but vetoed the bill for coining the surplus silver which had accumulated as a result of the purchase law.

Senator Hill's success in defeating Cleveland in their first clash since the convention of 1892 gave him considerable prominence. Hill had been elected to the Senate in the winter of 1891, but he did not take his seat until January, 1892, continuing to hold the office of Governor of New York in order to prevent Lieutenant Governor Jones of Binghamton from becoming Governor of the Empire State. The Lieutenant Governor became known to fame by his advertising. "Jones, he pays the freight," in large type stared at readers of newspapers.

Hill came to the Senate known as a "peanut politician." He left with the reputation of being a strong lawyer and an able man, though scarcely regretted. He antagonized too many men; was at outs with Gorman, Brice, Jim Smith and other anti-Cleveland conservatives; with Vilas, Gray, McPherson and other Cleveland men; and with the silver men who comprised

the majority of the Democrats in the Senate. But he was a fighter.

It has been one regret of my Washington experience that Hill and Foraker could not have met in the Senate and engaged in a joint political debate. That would have been a battle royal. No man was Hill's equal as a debater while he was in the Senate. Even the waspish Chandler was not a match for him. Spooner was never in any real forensic conflict with him. Foraker is the only man I have known who would have been Hill's match.

Hill clashed with Ben. Tillman, but the fiery South Carolinian's sledge hammer blows, delivered with force and a fantastic vocabulary, were scarcely equal to the rapier thrusts of the New Yorker.

Hill always attended the sessions of the Senate and knew what was going on all the time. He had a marvelous memory and never misquoted a book or a remark made in debate.

"If by any chance," his colleague, Ed. Murphy, once said to me, "the proceedings of the Senate for an entire day should be destroyed, Hill could reconstruct them from memory."

Once when he was sitting, grim and watchful, I said something about him to a friend of Cal. Brice.

"He hasn't a friend in the Senate," said the man.

"Nor an enemy that he fears," I could not help adding.

Hill's fight against Cleveland aided him for a time with the southern men, but his vicious assault upon the

income tax and the fight he made against the Wilson bill alienated most of the Democrats, even before he became so pronounced against free silver. He had very few friends on either side when he left the Senate.

One of the manifestations growing out of the hard times of that period was the march of the so-called "commonweal armies" to the National Capital. The principal "army" was commanded by Jacob S. Coxey of Ohio. Coxey's army was created by newspaper men. A correspondent, who was sent to see just what Coxey was doing when he first began to talk about his projects, found that it was all talk, but he wrote a story just the same, making it appear to be about the biggest thing in Ohio. Other newspapers sent their men to the same place and they found they were fooled.

"Be sports," said the first man, "there is enough here for a little fun if nothing else." And so every correspondent gave it a boost, and finally the "army" was actually created and on the march, winding up on the Capitol steps and with the arrest of Coxey for failing to obey the sign, "keep off the grass."

How everybody laughed when Coxey proposed that the unemployed should be set at work building roads, and proposed to issue $500,000,000 bonds to pay for the roads. Since that time men considered "safe and sane" have proposed measures expending anywhere from $25,000,000 to $100,000,000 a year upon good roads. The country has invested nearly the same amount, half a billion, in a canal away down on the Isthmus, and since then "safe and sane" men in Con-

gress have voted away sums which make Coxey's half a billion small in comparison.

The fight over the tariff kept Congress in session so late that there were only two months for the campaign. The Republicans had no idea they were going to make such a sweep. They were confident of victory, but they did not expect to carry nearly every district in the North and make such inroads in the South.

One of the amusing incidents of the campaign of 1894 was that which brought J. Adam Bede into the limelight. Bede had been a reporter on a Washintgon paper years before, but had followed Horace Greeley's advice and gone west, settling at Duluth. At the behest of Congressman Baldwin, a Democrat who represented the Duluth district, Cleveland appointed Bede United States Marshal for the district of Minnesota.

During his first term Cleveland had written a letter which caused a great deal of comment, and in which he warned officeholders against "pernicious activity" in politics. The substance of that letter was made a part of a circular to officeholders in 1894. Bede resigned in high dudgeon, as he was engaged in the active support of Baldwin for reëlection.

"I resign to fight the battles of my friend," wrote Bede. "The hell hounds are on his trail, and I would be disloyal to myself if I did not exert my utmost in his behalf."

Most of the officeholders took the letter in a Pickwickian sense and continued their political work, quietly, but effectively. But not so with J. Adam

Bede. He took it literally and made a sensation out of it. Two years later he left the Democratic party on the silver issue and has ever since been a Republican. He was several terms a member of Congress and has been an effective spellbinder for the Republicans in all campaigns.

It was a disgusted and disheartened body of Democrats that returned to the short session of the Fifty-third Congress in December, 1894. They had been through a cyclone. Their very large majority had been turned into the smallest minority in the House since Civil War times. Only the rock-ribbed solid South—which was not quite solid—resisted the sweep of the Republicans.

Many well-known men who had served in Congress for years were defeated. Among them were Wilson of West Virginia, the party leader; Springer of Illinois; Holman and Bynum of Indiana; Jerry Simpson, Populist, of Kansas; Breckinridge of Kentucky; Rayner of Maryland; O'Neil of Massachusetts; Bland and Champ Clark of Missouri; Bryan of Nebraska; W. Bourke Cockran of New York; Tom Johnson of Ohio.

There was considerable chaffing of Democrats by Republicans. Tom Reed continued to give attention to Bryan. Once when Reed was making a speech, a Congressman whom Reed regarded as a nobody interjected a remark. Bryan smiled and nodded approval.

"That," said Reed, "meets the approval of the gentleman from Nebraska—or late from Nebraska."

Bryan had the best of Reed one day, and in a speech

which nearly everybody enjoyed, especially those who had felt the stings of Reed's epigrams, he crowded the big man from Maine to the wall. Reed had delivered a speech in Boston, for New England consumption, in which he told the people that they must have protection or the "omnivorous West would take their factories from them"; that manufacturing industries would move to the source of supply of raw materials. Bryan read extracts from that speech and made sarcastic comments. Reed was without a reply save once. After reading from the speech, Bryan said:

"I do not agree with you on many things."

"I am very happy to know that," drawled Reed.

On another occasion Reed had the floor and, for the benefit of Bryan, said:

"It is one of the commonest things in human nature to cling to a lot of things after they have ceased to be of importance or advantage."

In explaining the disaster of November, some of the Democrats blamed Cleveland; others said it was the Gormanized-Wilson tariff law; while others asserted that it was due wholly to Republican misrepresentations.

The session had not been far advanced before there came before the House a bill which Champ Clark wanted to defeat. After considerable maneuvering he secured an hour to talk on the measure.

He inquired what would become of the bill if he talked out his hour, and was told by the Speaker that the bill would be defeated. "That's what I want," said Champ,

and, after saying a little about the bill, turned to other matters. Among other things he paid his respects to W. Bourke Cockran and charged him with supporting monopolies. Then he fixed his eyes on the then Boy Orator of the Platte and started in to pay him a compliment.

"When William J. Bryan stood up here," he began, "the most eloquent tribune that the people have had in this hall——"

Champ was interrupted by derisive laughter on the Republican side, but he went on:

"for the last thirty years——"

"The 'Last of the Tribunes,'" quoted Boutelle of Maine, and the Republicans tittered.

"You keep your mouth shut," shouted Champ to Boutelle angrily. "You have got more mouth and less brains than any man that ever sat in the American Congress."

Of course, Champ did not use that kind of language in later years. Then he glared around and repeated his praise of the Nebraskan, saying:

"When Mr. Bryan, the most eloquent tribune of the people that ever sat in this Congress," and he quoted something Bryan had said on a former occasion.

Champ Clark was extravagant in those days in the use of words. It was about that time that he had something to say concerning Grover Cleveland. "Two names," said Clark, "stand out as meaning all that can be said of treachery and infamy. They are Judas

Iscariot and Benedict Arnold. A third should be added, that of Grover Cleveland."

Those who heard him express his opinion of events in Baltimore in 1912 in a forceful vein are aware that, when talking of traitors, he added a fourth name to the list, that of William Jennings Bryan.

Champ Clark was most outspoken on every phase of public affairs when he came to Congress. If he had been nominated for President many of his expressions would have been featured during the campaign. One day, when he was a comparatively new member, he was speaking of pensions, and said:

"If any man served in the Federal army and got hurt and wants a pension, I will vote to give it to him, although my heart was with Morgan and his gang of rough riders."

Bryan took a position in Congress which he has always maintained. He introduced a resolution to amend the Constitution to make the President ineligible for election after one term. Two years after introducing the resolution he reiterated his position when a Presidential candidate, and on other occasions he stood by the one-term idea, finally incorporating it into the Democratic platform of 1912.

During the short session of the Fifty-third Congress Administration Democrats tried to pass a bill embodying the financial views of the President. The bill was in charge of William M. Springer of Illinois, who, not long before, had been a pronounced free silver man. The bill proposed a gold bond issue of $500,000,000 and was

rather a staggering proposition. Reed as leader of the minority in the House so adroitly managed his side as to cause the defeat of the bill, though offering to Springer enough Republican votes to pass such a measure as the Republicans wanted.

The Cleveland Democrats were in an angry mood over the defeat of the measure, although they must have known that it could never have passed the Senate. They gathered about Reed after the House adjourned. Louis Sperry of Connecticut was the chief spokesman.

"You cut a pretty figure to-day, you great big bluff," he said.

"Why didn't you agree to our compromise?" asked Reed.

"Because," said Sperry, hotly, "a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President have not reached the point where they have to allow a Republican minority to dictate to them."

"In that case," drawled Reed, "why didn't you marshal your Democratic majority and pass your bill?"

At this Sperry went into the air. "You know why," he shouted. "It was your opportunity to secure a sound financial law and you fell down. But you cooked your Presidential goose. You will never be nominated."

Reed was rather nonplussed at this onslaught, and all he could say was: "At all events, your influence will neither help nor harm me."

CHAPTER XIV

SILVER DEMOCRATS ORGANIZE

Nation-wide Plan to Capture the Convention of 1896—Venezuelan Boundary Dispute—Hawaii Troubles the Cleveland Administration —Income Tax Decision—Democratic Divisions Cause Republican Jubilation—Elkins in the Senate—A.P.A. in Evidence—New Men in Senate and House.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND had no idea of calling the Fifty-fourth Congress in extra session. During his first Administration he had refused an invitation from a friend for a pleasant outing, excusing himself by saying, "I will have Congress on my hands at that time." He did not like Congress and lacked the art of conciliation in dealing with Senators and Representatives. His method was to drive and that was not always possible, even with a Democratic majority, and he was well aware that he could do but little with a Republican House and a refractory Senate.

Foreign relations kept the Administration quite well occupied during the long recess of 1895. The Venezuelan boundary dispute was the most important matter before the State Department. Great Britain claimed territory in Venezuela or adjoining that Republic on account of a certain Schomburgk line which had been surveyed many years before. The claim was denied by Venezuela. Under the Monroe Doctrine the South

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GROVER CLEVELAND

American country appealed to the United States, and Secretary Olney opened negotiations with the British foreign office. They dragged along throughout the Summer and Fall.

Hawaii was again a source of trouble. The Americans in Hawaii once more overthrew the monarchy, and as the Republic was established without the aid of the naval forces of the United States Cleveland recognized the new government. Lorin A. Thurston, who was the first minister from Hawaii for a few months, was a second time appointed minister to the United States. Thurston's relations with the Cleveland administration had never been cordial. When Gresham was Secretary of State, and the movement was on foot to restore Queen Liliuokalani, there were several stormy interviews between the Secretary and Thurston. On one occasion Gresham accused Thurston of being responsible for publications adverse to the Administration and reflecting upon its Hawaiian policy. Thurston denied the accusation.

"You need not deny it," angrily retorted the Secretary. "Your newspaper friends have betrayed you."

That remark only served to increase the animosity already intense between the Administration and the newspaper correspondents.

The differences between Thurston and the State Department were renewed when he became minister a second time, and finally his recall was requested. Of course, the new Republic could not do otherwise than acquiesce in such a demand.

From the time the income tax was incorporated in the Wilson tariff bill until the final decision by the Supreme Court it was a subject of much interest in Washington. Senator Hill had not only denounced it with vigor, but he appeared as counsel in the case, at least in an advisory capacity. In 1895 there were two court decisions on the law. The first held it unconstitutional by a four to four decision. The second, on an application for a rehearing, reaffirmed the first decision by a five to four verdict. There was an interesting incident during the argument of the case. James A. Carter, one of the special counsel for the Government, closed his address to the Court in a deep sonorous voice, and virtually warned the Court that an adverse decision might endanger the Constitution and the Court. "The consequence," he said, "may be disastrous to the law and may be accomplished over the ruins of any constitution or of any court."

Joseph H. Choate, who followed, in a mild and gentle voice, and with considerable sarcasm, referred to the remarks of Carter as a threat of force, and said: "It is the first time I have ever heard that kind of an argument in the Supreme Court and I hope it is the last."

The close decision of the case and the interest which it had aroused caused a great deal of adverse criticism, and found voice the next year in the plank in the Democratic platform which was directed against courts in general. Fuel was added to the flame at the time of the decision by the report that one of the Justices had changed his mind over night and thus secured an ad-

verse decision. The five who decided against the income tax were Fuller, Field, Gray, Brewer and Shiras. The four who were for the tax were Harlan, Brown, Jackson and White.

The dissenting views of the four Justices were the basis of much of the criticism that followed the decision.

Justice Field at that time was a very old man. It had been suggested that he retire, but he refused to do so.

"I'll be damned if I'll retire or die while Cleveland is President," he said. "I'll never give Cleveland an opportunity to appoint my successor."

Field wanted to be Chief Justice at the time Cleveland named Fuller during his first Administration, and he never forgave what he considered an affront.

The several reverses of the silver men in Congress, which were due to the influence of President Cleveland, caused them to look forward to 1896 with a view of capturing the Presidency, or at least of preventing the Cleveland wing of the party from controlling the convention. During 1895 an extensive silver organization was perfected, consisting of members of Congress from both houses and ramifying in every direction throughout the country. Senators Harris of Tennessee, Cockrell of Missouri, Daniel of Virginia and Jones of Arkansas, were the leaders of the movement, though most of the work fell upon Jones, who earned the reputation as an organizer which gave him prominence when the silver Democrats achieved their aim.

The Administration was not wholly idle, and efforts

were made in several states to check the silver movement. This was not difficult in some of the eastern states, although there were a great many surprises, as prominent Democrats from unexpected quarters indorsed the free silver doctrine and began to work earnestly to carry out the designs of the silver organization.

The anti-silver men did not believe it was possible for the silver Democrats to control the national convention in the face of the opposition of the Democratic President. They were absolutely sure that the silver men could not obtain the two-thirds of the delegates necessary to nominate a Democratic candidate, and so they felt sure of preventing the nomination of a silver man for President.

"The two-thirds rule will not stand in our way long," pleasantly remarked Jones. "A majority can make its own rules. We will not abrogate the two-thirds rule unless it is necessary, but a majority is going to control the next Democratic convention."

The Republicans looked on with glee. The prospects for their success in the ensuing campaign were bright and rosy. The party which had swept the country in 1890 and again in 1892 had been shot to pieces in 1894; was split on the tariff and split wide open on silver; while there was another party, the Populist, which was making great inroads upon the Democratic solidity in the South.

The election of a Republican President seemed to them a foregone conclusion, and naturally every man

with any possible chance was an active candidate, while others were standing ready for a dark horse movement, if there should be any such opportunity.

The outlook for the Democracy in 1895 was very black. The party was not only torn to pieces and apparently disrupted, but the condition of the country was deplorable and the party in power always suffers during hard times. If any one had said in 1895 that the next Democratic candidate would receive 6,500,000 votes, a million more than had ever been given to any other Democratic candidate, that person would have been declared insane.

The Fifty-fourth Congress did not meet until December, 1895. Many changes had occurred as a result of the election in 1894. On the Republican side in the Senate among the new men were Carter of Montana, Nelson of Minnesota, and Elkins of West Virginia, while Burrows of Michigan, Clark of Wyoming, Wilson of Washington and Pritchard of North Carolina had taken their seats in the previous Congress a short time before it expired. Pritchard was one of those strange results of political upheavals, a Republican Senator from one of the states of the South. His colleague, who was a new Senator, was Marion Butler, then a Populist, afterwards chairman of the Populist national committee and later a leading Republican. Both had been chosen by a fusion of Populists and Republicans in the legislature. Warren of Wyoming made his reappearance. He had been one of the first Wyoming Senators.

On the Democratic side were seen for the first time

in the Senate Bacon of Georgia, Tillman of South Carolina and Martin of Virginia.

Stephen B. Elkins was the best known of all the new Republican Senators. He had been a Delegate from New Mexico as far back as 1873, and Secretary of War in Harrison's cabinet. When Elkins went to the Senate he was warmly congratulated by Julius C. Burrows, who had known him in the House. The greeting was all the more hearty because Burrows unconsciously had been a contributing cause of keeping Elkins out of the Senate many years before. It happened when Elkins was a Delegate and had almost secured the admission of New Mexico as a state. He would have been one of the first Senators. The bill for admission had passed the Senate and was pending in the House. There was a Democratic majority, but Elkins had worked with the Democrats and secured enough votes to pass his bill as soon as it could be reached. Although Elkins had been a soldier on the Union side, he never paraded his service. He served in the border warfare in Missouri and had many friends on both sides.

Those were the days of the "brigadiers" in the House, as the former Confederates from the southern states were called. The bitter animosities of the Civil War were constantly in evidence, and the feeling between the sections as represented in the House was intense. On the Republican side no man was more bitter in "bloody shirt" speeches than Burrows.

One day Burrows was particularly severe and delivered a fierce denunciation of the South, which raised

a tumult. Elkins, pursuing a habit which he never corrected, that of absenting himself a great deal of the time and only occasionally drifting into the chamber, entered just in time to see a large number of men swarming around Burrows and congratulating him. Elkins did not know what it was all about, but thinking it was a good thing for a young man to show himself and congratulate an older member, he joined the procession and was as fulsome in his greetings as the most rock-ribbed Yankee in the House. A few minutes afterwards he was over on the Democratic side.

"That cooks your goose," remarked one of his erstwhile southern friends. "Your bill will never pass; we'll see to that."

"What's the matter?" asked Elkins in amazement.

"Oh, you can't come it over us any longer. Here you have been talking about burying animosities of the war, and all that sort of thing, and yet you rush up and congratulate that damned Yankee after he has made the most violent and unwarranted attack upon the South ever heard in the House. You can't fool us any longer."

Elkins expostulated and explained, but it was no use. The Democrats from the South beat his bill, and New Mexico waited more than a quarter of a century for statehood.

Nelson had served in the House and had been Governor of his state. He did not fare well in committee assignments in the Senate, which caused him to say:

"I'm only a poor old Norwegian farmer."

Elkins overheard the remark.

"Don't let that get out," remarked Elkins. "Keep it dark. Collis P. Huntington, the Pacific railroad magnate, is looking for just such kind of men. Some day, if you feel that way, he'll see you coming across the plaza and slip you into his pocket."

John L. Wilson and Thomas H. Carter had both entered the House when their states were admitted in 1889, and both were elected to the Senate in the winter of 1895. The A.P.A. was a power in politics at the time, and it is surprising that Carter, a Catholic, was allowed to get through in Montana. When Wilson returned to Washington to take his seat in the Senate, having been elected to fill an existing vacancy, I asked him:

"Is there any A.P.A. sentiment in your state?"

"Is there?" he replied; "why, I didn't dare congratulate Tom Carter when he was elected because it would have defeated me."

Not long after he entered the Senate Carter found it necessary to make a silver speech. His opponents had always cast aspersions upon his loyalty to the white metal, and asserted that because he was chairman of the Republican national committee he was catering to the gold element in the party. Carter's position assured him a good audience and his speech represented the sentiment of his state.

Soon after, a group of newspaper men had Senator Aldrich in the marble room questioning him as to the meaning of Carter's speech, a great deal of signi-

ficance having been attached to it because Carter was chairman of the Republican national committee.

"Aren't you on to him yet?" asked the wily Rhode Island Senator. "He's a striker and wants to shake down Wall Street."

That was the Aldrich way. If he could not coax a man to be with him he would try to kill him. A general publication of the idea which Aldrich sought to circulate would have ruined Carter. I happened to hear the remark and, as a friend of Carter, I explained to the group of newspaper men that Carter had to make that kind of speech to get in line with his home people or he would lose his grip on his state. That view rather than the Aldrich insinuation was published, and it was of great value to the Montana Senator. In after years Aldrich and Carter worked in close alliance, as they found each other mutually helpful.

CHAPTER XV

CLEVELAND'S WAR MESSAGE

President Ready for a Conflict With Great Britain Over the Venezuelan Boundary—Ambassador Bayard Censured by the House for a Speech in England—Cleveland Holds Congress in Session During the Holidays.

WHEN the Fifty-fourth Congress assembled foreign relations were the most important subject before the country, and a short time after the session began a war message was sent to Congress by President Cleveland that was like the explosion of a bombshell. During the summer negotiations had been in progress between Washington and London regarding the Venezuelan boundary. Secretary Olney tried to have the matter submitted to arbitration, but this was refused by Lord Salisbury. It was generally supposed that England was to have her own way, as usual, until Cleveland sent in his special message on December 17, 1895, which was virtually a request that Congress prepare for war.

The manner in which the final draft of the message was prepared showed an interesting side of Cleveland's character. Secretary Olney wrote the message, and it was the usual diplomatic document reciting facts for the information of Congress.

"Let's put some guts in it," remarked Cleveland, when he had finished reading it, and he wrote that part which really proved sensational, wherein he said: "It is the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power the aggression of Great Britain to exercise control or authority over any territory which we have determined belongs to Venezuela."

Mr. Cleveland closed this war-like message with these words:

"I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred, and keenly realize the consequences that may follow.

"I am, nevertheless, firm in my conviction that while it is a grievous thing to contemplate the two great English-speaking peoples of the world as being otherwise than friendly competitors in the onward march of civilization and strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace, there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which can follow a supine submission to wrong and injustice and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honor, beneath which are shielded a people's safety and greatness."

There was no mistaking the language, and although the country had neither an army nor navy which could be compared to the force of Great Britain, there was an instantaneous response throughout the nation, showing that the people stood behind the President. Perhaps there was a feeling that an opportunity had arrived when this country might wipe out the aggressions and diplomatic defeats it had suffered at the hands of Great Britain. But England did not want war. Lord Salis-

bury made light of the Cleveland message and intimated that it was a bluff, or words to that effect, but in a short time arrangements were made to submit the question to arbitration. In the final settlement of the boundary dispute England got the better of it, gaining about all she had claimed. But the position which Cleveland took at that time had a wholesome effect upon the world at large.

Congress had not been long in session before Cleveland became highly angered on account of action taken in the House in regard to a speech made by Ambassador Bayard in England. Bayard had been taken from the Senate during Cleveland's first term to become Secretary of State. At the beginning of his second term Cleveland showed his appreciation of Bayard by selecting him for the highest diplomatic post, making him the first Ambassador from the United States to any foreign government.

During the Autumn of 1895 Bayard made a speech in England in which he spoke in high praise of his chief.

"The President," he said, "stands in the midst of a strong, self-confident, and often-times violent people; men who seek to have their own way. It takes a real man to govern the people of the United States."

In another part of the address he said: "In my own country I have witnessed the insatiable growth of that form of state socialism called 'protection.'"

When these quotations were read in the House there was great indignation among Republicans. A resolution was at once passed calling on the President for

facts regarding the speech. One member, seeking more limelight than others, offered a resolution of impeachment, which of course would have been impossible with a Democratic Senate.

In due time the President, without comment, sent to the House the correspondence, which showed that the Ambassador had made the remarks attributed to him. Several members thought the impeachment proceedings should be pushed and Bayard tried before the Senate, hoping that the bitter feeling among the Democrats of that body would prevail to such an extent as to convict Cleveland's friend. But the Senate would not have punished Bayard to mortify Cleveland, particularly as Bayard had once been a member of that body. The more effective course was the adoption of a resolution of censure. This action intensified the already bitter feeling between the White House and the majority in the House of Representatives.

The Republicans were really more incensed regarding the remark about protection than the other about the necessity for a strong man to govern the people of the United States, but they laid more stress upon that than the words which assailed one of their pet principles.

It could not be expected that a Republican House, dominated by a man like Tom Reed, could have cordial relations with a man in the White House like Grover Cleveland. The Administration blamed Reed for the defeat of its financial measure in the previous Congress. The hostility and ill feeling was intensified by an act of Cleveland's just before the holidays.

The financial condition of the country was very bad at that time. There was a lack of revenue. Bonds had been sold for the ostensible purpose of replenishing the gold reserve, but in reality to obtain money to meet current expenditures. The Supreme Court decision that the income tax law of 1894 was unconstitutional had cut off a large amount of revenue. The President had urged financial legislation before and it had been refused. That was the situation when Congress was ready for the usual holiday recess of two weeks. Preparations were already made. The resolution had been introduced when Cleveland sent in a message pointing out the grave financial condition confronting the nation and saying Congress ought not to adjourn without taking some action to afford relief.

This was a second presidential bombshell in less than two weeks, but of an entirely different character from the first. Everybody knew that no measure of relief could be passed. They were sure that Cleveland knew it, although he could have told them that a bill authorizing $500,000,000 gold bonds would have been a simple expedient. But such a bill could not have passed either House. The Republicans had long asserted that the real cause of the distress was due to Democratic tariff legislation; that the Wilson law did not furnish sufficient revenue and allowed a flood of foreign imports to enter the country, closing down American mills and factories. Their only remedy was a measure increasing tariff duties, and the Democratic Senate would not pass such a measure. There was an absolute deadlock.

Every member of the Senate and House knew that it would be useless to remain in session so far as accomplishing anything was concerned. Most of them said Cleveland knew it and had sent in the message for pure cussedness.

Congress remained in session, or at least it pretended to hold daily sessions, but there was a general understanding that those who wanted to leave Washington could do so without missing anything.

On the first of January the President gave his usual reception, but it was marked by the absence of members of Congress. Senators and Representatives were in the city, but they did not pay their respects to the Chief Magistrate. Nor did he care. Cleveland was not the man to lose sleep over the attitude of Congress towards him.

CHAPTER XVI

YEAR OF PRESIDENT MAKING

Interest Centers in the Contest for the Republican Nomination During the Preliminary Campaign—Reed and McKinley Leading Candidates—Grosvenor, the Mathematician—Reed Resentful and Petulant—Republicans Try to Force Cleveland in Regard to Cuba —Senatorial Story Tellers—Tillman's First Speech.

THE year 1896 was devoted to President making. As the Democrats seemed so hopelessly split, all interest centered upon the candidate of the Republicans. The most prominent candidates were Thomas B. Reed of Maine and William McKinley of Ohio. William B. Allison of Iowa was for the last time an aspirant. Levi P. Morton was the candidate of New York. Matt Quay secured for himself the Pennsylvania delegation, but was ready to trade it to the best advantage. Cushman K. Davis thought he was Minnesota's choice, but that state was ablaze for McKinley. Even the united efforts of the entire delegation in Congress put forth for Tom Reed could not secure a Delegate. While nearly all the Republican members of the House were for Reed, they could not stem the McKinley tide in many states, nor could they interfere with favorite son movements.

In the Senate there was no one actively for Reed except Senator Lodge of Massachusetts. The Maine

Senators did not even mention Reed or lift a hand for him. Nor were many Senators for McKinley. Neither of these leading candidates had ever been "members of the club." The Senators were nearly all for Allison, though they would have been satisfied with Morton. Senator Proctor of Vermont disgusted Reed by coming out for McKinley and breaking the solid New England delegation upon which he counted.

Charles H. Grosvenor of Ohio, though he had been given a place on the Ways and Means Committee and made a member of the powerful Committee on Rules by Reed, was an earnest McKinley supporter. It was during that preliminary campaign that Grosvenor earned the reputation of being the mathematician of the Republican party. Every Monday morning he would publish a table showing the number of McKinley Delegates chosen up to that time. It turned out that he gave a very accurate forecast. In all future political contests Grosvenor assumed the rôle of statistical prophet in politics, and on this account Champ Clark named him "Old Figures," a title which stuck.

Grosvenor was induced to make the McKinley forecasts by John Kennedy, an Ohio newspaper man, who really kept track of the data and prepared the tables which were the basis of the Grosvenor statements. Kennedy was later remembered by an appointment as a member of the Industrial Commission.

Reed's manner at times during the canvass showed him at his worst. He never had any too high an opinion of McKinley. He regarded the Ohio man, even

when he was the leader of the House, as somewhat lacking in backbone, and as inclined to grand-stand displays of oratory. McKinley had to be pushed hard to stand for all the Reed methods during the Fifty-first Congress.

To see the stampede going on towards McKinley and to feel the lukewarm support which members of the House gave himself, particularly those who were under obligations to him for committee assignments and other favors, made Reed resentful and petulant.

More than that, neither he nor the other candidates seemed to be aware of what Mark Hanna was doing. They did not know that the "business man in politics" had appeared and was getting results by any means that came to hand. That was one reason that Reed could not understand why daily reports came from the South that McKinley Delegates had been elected, when he received telegrams saying that Reed Delegates had been chosen.

Not until the convention was about to assemble and the manner in which the Delegates were chosen became known, did Reed and the others understand the Hanna manipulation in the South. They did not know that in nearly every case, even where they had a majority at the conventions, their supporters had been forced into the position of bolters. It was these bolters, feeling sure that they would be seated by the national convention, who telegraphed that Reed, Allison, or Morton Delegates were chosen, while the press reports followed the regularity of the proceedings and the dis-

patches showed that McKinley Delegates had been chosen.

As to the opposition of the Senate Reed cared little. He had a profound contempt for the Senate and many of its members. He said things about the Senate and members of that body which were unbecoming a man in his position. He always preferred to make an epigram rather than to make a friend.

"I go over to the Senate," Reed once said, "and try to become interested in the proceedings, but it frequently happens that Morgan or some other 'Ambassador from a Sovereign state' is talking. I try to listen, but it is impossible. I find myself lost in a maze of words and my mind wandering. And so I come away."

It was Morgan who had described himself as an "Ambassador from a Sovereign state." Stung by Reed's remark, he took the first opportunity to refer to the Speaker as the "Great White Czar of the House," and violated the rules by openly criticizing the Speaker on the floor of the Senate.

During the session of Congress the Republicans sought to make campaign material at every opportunity. There was a disposition to force the hand of the President on Cuban affairs. The Republicans were generally for the recognition of the insurgents, and were almost as clamorous then as the Democrats became on the same side two years later.

Like every other President, Mr. Cleveland resented the tendency of the Senate and House to dip into foreign affairs. Every President believes that the man-

agement of foreign questions is wholly an executive function and that attempts by Congress to interfere are a usurpation of his prerogative; and the most sacred thing to the different branches of the Government is prerogative. It is even more important than precedent. Among the prerogatives of Presidents is that of recognition of foreign governments and the recognition of belligerents in time of war and revolution. The demand for the recognition of belligerent rights to the insurrectionists in Cuba, and also for recognition of the so-called Republic of Cuba, was pressed upon the Senate to such an extent during the Cleveland Administration that the President had Secretary Olney prepare and publish a statement on the subject which has been considered unanswerable as to the power of the President in all such cases.

Among the Senators who criticized the President was Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, and in a speech on the subject of Cuba, a Spanish possession, it was quite natural for him to use a Spanish quotation.

Senator Turpie of Indiana replied. As he talked his grizzled old head shook from side to side, and quite as a matter of course and without undue emphasis, he said:

"The Senator from Massachusetts has seen fit to quote Spanish. I will take the liberty of quoting a Spanish proverb which applies to him: 'Pigmies stuffed and placed on Alps are pigmies still.'"

Lodge had been known as the scholar of the Senate, and he was naturally perfectly willing to live up to that idea. As a scholar, however, Turpie was considered

his superior. Senator Davis of Minnesota, himself a scholar of distinction, said that Turpie was one of the most profound scholars he had ever known. Davis also had a high opinion of Senator Quay's scholarly attainments, which he said were singularly striking in many lines of learning and reading.

Those were the days of Senate stories. On one occasion I heard Senator Blackburn of Kentucky tell the story of how he pulled William E. Chandler's ear when they were both new in the Senate. The story came out at a table in the Senate restaurant, when there were present such famous raconteurs as Joe Blackburn, George Vest, John P. Jones of Nevada, and Tom Carter, and all at their best. The stories told that afternoon would be invaluable if they could be retold with all the details.

Vest, who was a native of Kentucky, told stories about Blackburn, and the latter retaliated by giving two versions of why Vest left Kentucky, one the Vest version and the other the Blackburn version, which Joe insisted was the true one. Then Vest told a story about a meeting of several Democratic politicians at a national convention held in Cincinnati years before. A half dozen leaders met at a dinner to settle the great questions to come before the convention, when Joe McDonald of Indiana and John T. Morgan of Alabama got into a fight about carp, a fish which had been introduced into the country from Germany.

This fight story led to a demand that Blackburn should tell the story of pulling Chandler's ear, which he

did in all its details, even to arranging a table and showing where different Senators were seated in the committee room.

Just as Blackburn was beginning the story he turned to me and said:

"You are a newspaper man. If you print this story I shall deny it."

And that recalls an experience I had with Senator Pettigrew. He gave me a good news story which he wanted published.

"But, Senator," I said, "I can't use this unless I can put it on to someone and say he said it."

"Oh, all right," responded Pettigrew, "just put it on me and I'll deny it. The denial will not catch up with the story."

Benjamin R. Tillman made his first speech during the preliminary Presidential campaign. He was by no means an unknown character when he first appeared in the Senate. He had been Governor of South Carolina and put through the celebrated dispensary law making the state the owner and dispenser of liquors. While he was Governor there was a celebration at Columbia, South Carolina's capital, of sufficient importance to cause the attendance of President Cleveland. Gath (George Alfred Townsend) was there to write a story about the affair, and he afterwards told me of his impressions.

"Everybody, especially the strangers," he said, "were more interested in the Governor than the President, I among the rest. Finally, I saw Cleveland riding

by with the worst looking train robber I ever laid eyes on."

"'That's him,' said some one, 'that's Ben Tillman.'

"'Hoorawer for Ben Tillman!' shouted a red-shirted roughneck, and the crowd broke into cheers for Tillman instead of for Cleveland."

Tillman's first speech was directed at the President. He read it, having thus prepared it, he said, so that he would not overstep the bounds of Senate decorum. What he might have said but for this precaution I cannot imagine, for it was sizzling hot as it was.

He made up in action what he felt was suppressed by such careful preparation. "Pitchfork Ben" was never in better form. He would shout, flourish his arms, grind out his words between set teeth, and run all the gamut of impassioned oratory and invective. Occasionally he would spin around like a toe dancer, the proof sheets of his speech waving in the air.

"If I had known," he said at one point, "that Grover Cleveland would have turned out to be the traitor that he is, I would have delivered the electoral vote of South Carolina to another candidate."

During his speech a page boy placed a glass of water before him, but he waved the boy away.

"I never wet my whistle when I am talking," he said. "I can't run a windmill on water."

There was a titter in the galleries checked by the presiding officer.

"Poor muffled brutes in the galleries," Tillman commented.

He derided senatorial courtesy. "Senators sneak away into the cloak rooms," he said, as a number of them left the chamber, "but they can't hide themselves from the people."

One of the most amusing things in the Senate in the olden days, in the days of such senatorial Senators as Hoar of Massachusetts, Hale and Frye of Maine, Platt of Connecticut, Harris of Tennessee, and several more like them, was to watch them suffer when some new man shattered the traditions of the Senate. Since Tillman first appeared we have had a number of men who caused the old sticklers for the proprieties much anguish. Besides, "the Senate is not what it used to be."

CHAPTER XVII

HANNA NOMINATES McKINLEY

He First Secured a Majority of the Republican National Committee and Then Systematized the Election of Southern Delegates—Who Framed the Gold Plank?—Bolt of Silver Republicans Eagerly Watched by Bryan.

WHEN Marcus A. Hanna determined to nominate William McKinley for President, he started out in a business-like way. As a business man he applied business methods to politics. When he wanted anything in business he talked the other fellow out of it; failing in that he bought it. He had been a delegate to the national conventions of 1884 and 1888. He knew how the southern delegate had been played in the convention of 1888, at which his candidate, John Sherman, had been the victim of delegate purchases.

Hanna's first move when he decided to nominate McKinley was to secure the Republican national committee. He sent agents to different members of the committee and secured thirty-five of the fifty members who agreed to "stand firm for the right," which meant, as it turned out, for the McKinley delegates from the southern states.

Then he sent emissaries through the South, supplied with the necessary means to secure results. The

formula was simple. The chairmen and secretaries of the different state and congressional committees were fixed for McKinley and told how to conduct the conventions and elect delegates. They were to retain control at all hazards; the chairman of the committee must name the temporary chairman and see that he was elected; this temporary chairman was to retain control until he passed it over to another safe man, the idea being to have all officers the "right kind of men." These officers were to certify to the election of delegates, and be sure that they certified the election of McKinley men. At most of the conventions there was a Hanna agent on the ground to see that the program was carried out. Oftentimes the record showed that the chairman of the committee and secretary did everything and certified themselves as delegates.

The friends of Reed, Allison and Morton also undertook to get delegates in the South. They relied on the obsolete idea of securing a majority of the convention. In many conventions the friends of one or another of these candidates had a majority, but they were not recognized to make a motion or to gain technical control of the convention. When they saw the chairman running the convention in his own way, refusing to put anything to a vote or, if he did, declaring his side had carried it, the majority would bolt, organize a convention of their own sometimes in the same room, elect their own officers and choose delegates. But it turned out that when the national committee passed on the credentials and rights of delegates to seats in the convention only "regular"

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WILLIAM McKINLEY

delegates were seated, and these were McKinley men. A chain of "regularity" was proved for them, and they were voted in by a vote of thirty-five to fifteen, as case after case reached that stage of the proceedings. An attorney presented the side of the McKinley delegates in each case, and he had the papers to show how the McKinley men had maintained the regularity of the convention proceedings from the time the chairman called the convention together until it adjourned.

The Hanna method was more certain than the antiquated methods of 1888 and other years. Then, the delegates were captured after they reached the convention city. The Hanna method was more effective. Until the national committee had actually seated these delegates their votes were not worth dickering for. If they sold out after the national committee had seated them they could be thrown out and other men seated. By the time the national committee had passed upon the contested cases it was a foregone conclusion that McKinley would be nominated and the hopes of patronage were enough to hold them. It was less expensive and more certain. No wonder it was copied in later years.

The hearings on these contested cases became a farce. Finally, members of the committee became tired and would say to Judge Thompson of Ohio, the Hanna attorney handling the cases: "Judge, which is your set of rascals? Let us vote 'em in and be done with it."

It is quite likely that McKinley would have been nominated without all the precaution in regard to

southern delegates. But that might have necessitated making some trades. Concessions of some sort might have been necessary in order to get the Pennsylvania delegates and the delegates elected for Allison. Of course, Hanna would have secured them, but with his southern delegates he was in control of the convention and under no obligations to any one. When the McKinley delegates from the South were seated, Hanna had a clear working majority.

I sat through all the sessions of that committee, lasting more than a week, and saw the machine perform like clockwork. In 1908 the same methods were adopted for seating Taft delegates, and the system became known as the "steam-roller." Mark Hanna was the original steam-roller man in politics.

While the national committee was in session the friends of McKinley worked on a platform, the most troublesome feature of which was the money plank. In Hanna's rooms there gathered from time to time Herman H. Kohlsaat of Illinois, Senator Redfield Proctor of Vermont, Henry C. Payne of Wisconsin, Myron T. Herrick of Ohio, William R. Merriam of Minnesota, with Hanna and William Hahn of Ohio going in and out. These men were drafting a money plank. Hanna told them he wanted as little to do with it as possible, but when the men named had completed the plank he approved it. Kohlsaat was the most insistent of all that the word gold should be in the plank. His determination caused Hanna to call him a "damn crank!" Hanna was for a declaration which would not cause the silver

men of the West to bolt the convention and lessen the chances of McKinley's election after he was nominated. Melville E. Stone, General Manager of the Associated Press, wrote the final draft, because, as one of those present remarked, "Stone was the only man present who could spell the word 'inviolable' which was used in the draft." Hanna told Myron Herrick to send it to McKinley, which was done, and McKinley approved it. That was the gold plank of the St. Louis convention, with the exception of a few words inserted by the committee on resolutions.

On Friday evening before the convention met, I was shown a copy of the proposed financial plank, and was told how it had been prepared, together with the names of the men who had participated in the conference. I was told that while Hanna said he wanted as little to do with it as possible, he approved it in the form in which it had been drawn. I was requested not to send the plank verbatim, and in the dispatch which I filed that night I sent the following paraphrase of the famous money plank:

When the men from the East reach St. Louis they will find that the close friends of Major McKinley are ready to offer them a financial plank that they can agree upon without hesitancy. Several drafts have been prepared and a form has been agreed upon that is satisfactory. It will declare against the free coinage of silver unless it should be brought about by international agreement. No ratio is mentioned and in this respect it is more agreeable to the gold men. It will also declare that the

Republicans are against the debasement of the currency and therefore are in favor of the present gold standard.

The Republican party will be given credit for having brought about the resumption act which has also maintained every dollar at parity, whether coin or paper, and the resolution will declare that the standard of money should be, as it always has been and is now equal to that of the most enlightened nations of the world.

If the resolution should be changed it will be by the committee on resolutions or the convention itself, but this is not likely.

It should be remembered that at the time this dispatch was written Hanna had absolute control of the convention and nothing was being done contrary to his wishes. So far as possible I wanted it understood that the money plank as framed, and approved as it had been by Hanna, would be the plank adopted. Owing to the circumstances under which I was given the information I could not make a more explicit statement. Just to show how nearly accurate was the dispatch of Friday evening I give the money plank as it was adopted by the committee on resolutions and afterwards by the convention:

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of a law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879, and since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading

nations of the earth, which agreement we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be maintained. All of our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolable the obligations of the United States, of all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

It will be noted that every important matter in the financial plank was covered in the dispatch of Friday evening save the phrase "which we pledge ourselves to promote," inserted after the declaration about an international agreement. That phrase was inserted by the committee on resolutions and appears in the handwriting of Senator Lodge, not because he wanted it, but as a sop to some of the silver men, who asserted that they could point to it as a promise of international bimetalism which meant something.

The story has been told that Senator Lodge and Senator Platt were responsible for the gold declaration. It has been stated that when they arrived in St. Louis they sought out Hanna, and handed him the gold plank, Lodge saying:

"You'll put this in the platform or we'll rip you up the back!"

That is not what occurred. Tom Platt reached St. Louis on Thursday evening, but did not interest himself in the platform. Senator Lodge arrived on Saturday. It is true that there was a sharp exchange between

Hanna and Lodge. Lodge went into Hanna's room on Monday and told the McKinley leader that he was going to demand a gold declaration.

"The hell you say!" Hanna retorted.

Then followed a further interchange and Lodge left.

Hanna did not want to tell Lodge that McKinley's friends had agreed upon a money plank, as he was avoiding the appearance of bossism so far as he could. The fact is that on the Saturday before the convention it was so well understood that a gold declaration was to be put in the platform that the silver men began to organize the movement to leave the convention.

When Senator Lodge arrived he endeavored to rally the scattering Reed forces, which had been thrown into confusion by a statement of Joe Manley of Maine, the Reed manager in Lodge's absence, to the effect that McKinley would be nominated. I was at dinner that evening with Tom Carter, Sam Fessenden and other Reed men, and had just told them about the Manley statement, throwing up the Reed sponge, and said that I had put it on the wire for publication. At that moment Manley came in and paused at the table, when Fessenden remarked:

"Joe, God hates a quitter."

So severe was the criticism of Reed's friends that Manley issued another statement of an explanatory character, saying that his first statement was based on the action of the national committee which seemed

determined to seat all the McKinley delegates in contest, and this meant that McKinley would have a majority of the convention.

As the time for the convention to assemble approached, it was known definitely that the gold plank would be adopted and that McKinley would be nominated. Among several men there was intense prejudice against Hanna, none of whom was more bitter than Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota. Arranging the preliminaries, the national committee selected Rabbi Saale to deliver the opening prayer.

"Rabbi, give us a hell of a good prayer," said Chairman Carter, when he notified him of his selection.

"You've heard how appropriately they are proceeding with this gold convention of the money changers," said Pettigrew, viciously. "They've selected a Jewish rabbi for the opening prayer and his name is Saale. Most appropriate; it shows that Hanna realizes the eternal fitness of things."

The high light of the convention was the bolt of the silver men after the gold plank was adopted. It was rather a sad sight to see Senator Teller lead that procession out of the hall. Close to him was big Archie Stevenson, but Archie returned soon after and in 1912 was the most intense standpatter that voted to oust Roosevelt delegates. Then there was Frank Pettigrew of South Dakota, Fred Dubois of Idaho, Frank Cannon of Utah, Charlie Towne of Minnesota, Charlie Hartman of Montana, besides the other delegates from the silver states with few exceptions. All those named,

with the exception of Stevenson, finally landed in the Democratic party.

Carter and Lee Mantle of Montana remained. Mantle stood on a chair and sought recognition, but the crowd only howled.

"Damn it, I've a good notion to go with the boys," said Mantle to Carter. He was prevailed upon to stay and made a speech explaining his position. Later he did join the silver Republicans, but afterwards returned to his first allegiance.

The names of the alternates were called and they took the places of the bolters, and thereby hangs a story. Among the alternates from Montana was Wilbur F. Sanders, former Senator. Between himself and Carter there was a bitter political warfare. The names of the alternates were arranged by cards, and those on top would be called first. When it was certain that there would be a bolt, Sanders came up to the Secretary's desk and asked for the Montana list. After looking them over he returned them. Carter as chairman of the national committee had a seat on the platform and he saw what Sanders was doing. While Sanders was returning to his seat among the alternates, Carter took the Montana cards and re-arranged them. He came down to the newspaper seat where I was sitting and asked:

"Did you see that?"

"No; what was it?"

"Wilbur Fiske fixed up the Montana cards so that his name would be called first when the boys go out. I've just shifted the cut on him."

The look on Sanders' face when his name was not called was an amusing feature for those who knew what had happened.

One other side-light: An ex-Congressman, William J. Bryan of Nebraska, was reporting the proceedings of the convention for Gilbert Hitchcock's paper, the Omaha *World-Herald*. He occupied one of the seats far back in the press stand. When the silver men bolted he came down to the front, stepping on the desks, for everybody was standing on the desks at the time. Some one stepped on my paper as I was writing bulletins at the desk in the front row, and looking up I saw it was Bryan.

With intense interest he was looking at the departing silver men, while different leather-lunged men in the hall shouted: "Go to Chicago!" "Take the Democratic train!" although none said "good bye and God bless you."

There was a gleam of joy in Bryan's eye and the least smile of satisfaction flitted across his face. Did he then have a vision of what was to happen three weeks later?

CHAPTER XVIII

THE MAN FROM NEBRASKA

William J. Bryan, the Boy Orator of the Platte, Solves the Democratic Problem—Party at Sea Until he Makes his Great "Cross of Gold" Speech—Tillman's Determined Dominance—Populist Convention of 1896 a Wonderful Gathering—Politicians Force Bryan's Nomination on the New Party—"Middle of the Road" Slogan Fails—Allen of Nebraska the Man of the Hour.

NO one ever predicted the nomination of William J. Bryan at Chicago in 1896. Among all the Democrats assembled there, all anxious for the right kind of a candidate, none mentioned Bryan until after he had made his speech defending the silver plank in the platform as reported by the majority of the committee on resolutions. The Sunday before the convention assembled, Senator Stephen M. White of California went over the whole situation with me, and we canvassed the list of those mentioned with a view of trying to hit upon a possibility, but we could find no one that was likely to be nominated. Bland was in the lead as to delegates supporting him, but there were objections which made his nomination impossible. At that time he was old and broken, a man of a single idea, silver. It was also asserted that religion would cut a figure in the campaign if he were nominated because Mrs. Bland was a Catholic. Senator White had been suggested

for the nomination, but he took himself out very promptly by saying: "I am a Catholic; besides, I am too far west."

Joe Bailey was at the convention with thirty Texas delegates earnestly supporting Bland. "I have examined his record," said Bailey, "and I find that he has been right and wise on most of the great questions coming before Congress."

Ohio was supporting John R. McLean; Kentucky was for Joe Blackburn; South Carolina was for Ben Tillman; Iowa and a few other western states supported Horace Boies, while the men who had bolted the Republican convention were noisily for Senator Teller.

Boies had left the Republican party only a short time before, but attracted attention because he had been elected Governor of Iowa. But there was a distinct objection to naming any man who was not a simon-pure Democrat. Senator Cockrell had settled, so far as I was concerned, any possibility of Teller's nomination, when I asked him about the chances for the Colorado Senator.

"Young man," replied the Missouri veteran, in the vigorous manner so characteristic of him, "when we win a Democratic victory we want a Democrat. I have served long in the Senate with Mr. Teller and I respect him, but the next Democratic President will be a Democrat and fill the offices with Democrats."

Everybody was at sea as to the candidate.

It has been said that Bryan had no idea of securing the nomination when he went to the convention at the

head of a contesting delegation. But he was a candidate all the time.

Soon after the Republican convention adjourned Bryan and Champ Clark met on a train in Illinois, and under a deep pledge of secrecy, Bryan told Clark that he (Bryan) was going to be nominated at Chicago; that he was the only man that could be nominated. He explained that Bland was impossible; that others had no strength; and that after a few ballots the delegates would unite upon him as the most available man.

Clark thought Bryan was serious, but misguided. He was a great admirer of the young Nebraska enthusiast and wished him well as far as he could consistently as a loyal Missouri supporter of Silver Dick Bland.

One other man also heard from Bryan. Charles A. Towne of Minnesota met Bryan soon after the Republican convention adjourned and was asked what the Republican bolters were going to do.

"We are going to Chicago to nominate Senator Teller," replied Towne; "you had better come and help us."

"I can't do it," replied Bryan; "I am going to be nominated at Chicago myself."

Benjamin R. Tillman was a prominent figure in the convention of 1896. He was then in his prime without the softening influences of years in the Senate which so completely changed his views. He was the most intense of all men who fought against the conditions of the time. He hated Cleveland only as a man of his temper-

ament could hate another man. He distrusted everything in the North, every man of wealth, every man who had not been a self-proclaimed guardian of the rights of the people. One of his most intimate friends at the convention was Governor Altgeld of Illinois.

Power and dominion were leading characteristics of Tillman at Chicago. Even in the smaller things he took everything in sight. It is usual to pass around the various positions, some half dozen assignments to different members of a state delegation. In the South Carolina delegation Tillman took the chairmanship, was member of the national committee and member of the committee on resolutions, the three best places.

Senator Jones of Arkansas was chairman of the committee on resolutions and had charge of the time on the silver side. He tried to parcel out the time among the prominent men who wanted to speak on the question and among others sought Senator Tillman. I happened to be talking with Colonel Steele of the South Dakota delegation, which was immediately behind South Carolina, when Jones approached Tillman.

"I have arranged to give you forty minutes, Senator," said Jones.

"I'll have an hour or nothing," curtly replied Tillman.

"But the crowd will get tired listening to one man for an hour," argued Jones.

"No crowd ever gets tired when I'm talking," responded Tillman.

And Jones had to give Tillman his hour, cutting him-

self out entirely, although he had pulled the laboring oar during the entire silver fight.

Bryan showed his dominance when the committee on credentials decided to admit his delegation. He had been named by the contesting delegation as a member of the committee on resolutions, but was not entitled to sit in that committee until the convention had passed upon the dispute and seated him. But as soon as the committee on credentials had decided in his favor Bryan appeared at the room of the resolutions committee. He was wearing the black alpaca coat which became historical during the following campaign. He insisted upon admittance and when inside assumed the right to represent Nebraska on the committee. He helped to make the platform, something he has done in every subsequent convention, save in 1916 and 1920.

Nearly everything else in connection with the convention has been forgotten except the "cross of gold" speech by the wonderful orator from the Platte. It is recorded that Hill of New York, Vilas of Wisconsin, and perhaps others, argued against the platform; that fiery Ben Tillman made one of his "rip-snorting" speeches, but when Bryan had concluded he had won a place for himself and put all the others in the shade. Bryan did not entirely sweep the convention off its feet, for it was not until the fifth ballot that the delegates broke and nominated him. These are the concluding words of that celebrated speech:

"You shall not press down upon the brow of labor

this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind on a cross of gold!"

Although a delegate, Bryan was not in the convention when he was nominated. He knew he was going to be named and remained away. When I was assured of the outcome, I left the convention hall and went to the little Clifton Hotel in Monroe Street where Bryan was staying. He showed no surprise when the report of his nomination was received, but was greatly elated.

In a very short time that hotel was packed to suffocation with a frenzied, howling mob, extending congratulations and struggling to shake the hand of the new leader. Bryan stood midway on the stair and reached as many as he could. Some proffered sentimental gifts which he accepted.

"Here is a bit of wood from the old Breckinridge home in 'old Kaintuck,'" said Jack Chinn, he of the steady nerve and fatal knife, handing to Bryan a walking stick. "It may bring you good luck and has a sentimental significance."

"My friends, I feel this is going to be a campaign of sentiment," responded Bryan.

A short time afterwards the members of the Democratic national committee realized this fact. They met to organize and lay out plans for the campaign. Bryan attended the meeting and with him was Mrs. Bryan. This occasioned some surprise, but after a few greetings and informal talk it was suggested to Bryan that, as they were about to get down to business, it would probably be well to notify Mrs. Bryan.

Much to the embarrassment of most of the members, who were old line Democrats and not touched with woman suffrage fever, Mr. Bryan told them that Mrs. Bryan was to remain and that there were no secrets of the campaign that she could not know.

"I managed two campaigns for him," Senator Jones afterwards told me, "and it was a very difficult task. Bryan was a law unto himself."

I have attended every national convention since 1888, but never saw the equal of the Populist convention of 1896. That was a convention beyond anything of the kind ever held, and yet it was manipulated by practical politicians. The delegates were earnest, sincere, and had they been able to control the convention they might have written a different page in the political history of the United States. If the so-called "middle-of-the-road" element could have had its way the Populist party would not have tied itself to the tail of the Democratic kite, and thus brought about its own destruction. It was a convention made up of men and women, of hundreds of people dissatisfied with existing conditions, groping for something, they hardly knew what, which would restore power to the people. Everybody was allowed to talk; it was a convention of free speech. One of the most notable speeches was made by Mary Elizabeth (not Ellen) Lease of Kansas. As she became excited with her efforts the veins stood out on her neck until I thought they would burst.

It was while Mary Elizabeth was speaking that an amusing incident occurred. In his efforts to keep

order the sergeant-at-arms met with a mishap. His "galluses" broke and his "pants" slipped and slipped. He struggled with those pants, but he did not have hands enough to control the situation. He needed his hands to wave the convention to order, to point to his assistants where they should go, and to bang on the desk with the gavel. He was the most frantic of all that frenzied mob which was cheering Mrs. Lease and filling the old convention hall with noise. And the worst of it all was that the official had no sense of humor. He wanted to clear the press seats because we laughed at him.

It not infrequently happened that while some one would be speaking from the platform a man would be standing on a chair addressing a delegation of his state or surrounding delegations. Texas was the most frequent offender in this particular, and on one occasion an assistant sergeant-at-arms was sent down to tell the delegates that they must keep order.

He was collared by a six-foot-six Texan, who stood at a little gate separating the Texas delegation from the remainder of the convention.

"See that line," said the big fellow, indicating the rail. "That's the Texas border. If ye come inside that line I'll plug ye."

After that the Texans were unmolested.

There was sense and buffoonery, play-acting with Uncle Sam in costume and Miss Columbia arrayed in the American flag; there were songs, shouts, cheers, tempestuous times, but throughout it all the great mass was being steered towards a Bryan endorsement.

The "middle-of-the-road" contingent was largely from the southern states. Their battle cry was to "keep in the middle of the road." They did not want to unite and fuse with the Democratic party. They had left that party because they were dissatisfied with it. There was no Republican party in the South and they were rapidly capturing the Democratic party in the South because all the discontented elements were flocking to them.

The northern Populists were willing and eager to fuse with the Democrats. They were from Republican states and had left the Republican party because of general dissatisfaction with conditions, while the leaders were dissatisfied because they had not been given the offices they demanded. The only way they could get even a part of what they considered their share was by fusion with the Democrats.

The "middle-of-the-roaders" obtained one concession. They forced a reversal of the usual procedure and secured the nomination of one of their own men for Vice President. They feared that they would be tricked by the politicians and that after Bryan was nominated the convention would be adjourned. So they named Tom Watson of Georgia, the red-headed leader of the Populists in the House of Representatives, thus securing the peculiar double-tailed ticket, which contributed a share to the peculiar campaign which followed.

The politicians who manipulated that convention were Senator Jones of Arkansas and Governor Stone of Missouri, Democrats; Tom Patterson of Colorado,

then a Populist, a sometime Democrat, and always an independent; Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota, a bolter from the Republican party in the very same hall a few weeks before, then a silver Republican, drifting towards the Democratic party through Populism; Senator Kyle of South Dakota, an avowed Populist; Senators Jones and Stewart of Nevada, former Republicans, then silver Republicans, Populists for the time, but later in the Republican party.

The greatest power of all was Senator William V. Allen, Populist, of Nebraska. Senator Marion Butler, Populist, of North Carolina had been the temporary chairman. Given his way, he would have had a straight Populist ticket, but he was persuaded that national success would follow by uniting on Bryan. It was Allen who saved the situation for Bryan, and he spoiled one great sensation which at one time promised to be the biggest thing of all.

Before Watson was nominated Patterson showed me a telegram from Bryan saying that he could not accept a nomination from the convention unless Sewall, his Democratic running partner, was named as Vice President. Allen sent for Patterson and told him to keep his telegram in his pocket; that a time had arrived when Bryan could not interfere with the Populist convention.

Jones and Stone had telegraphic communication with Bryan. The messages were written on what is called newspaper copy paper, large white sheets of paper. On one of them was the Bryan statement that he would not accept a nomination by the Populists

unless the other man on the Democratic ticket was also named. Jones went to Allen with this message. I was near the desk and heard the colloquy.

"What is this?" asked Allen.

Jones told him.

"It is nothing," said Allen. "It is unsigned and addressed to no one. Take it away from here."

Jones persisted.

"What are you Democrats doing here, anyway?" asked Allen, with considerable force. "This is a Populist convention. You can't run it or have any part in it."

After Jones had left I asked Allen if it was not really a dispatch from Bryan.

"It was a paper with what purported to be a message from Bryan," he said. "It looked like any number of newspaper dispatches that I see down in the press seats. Anyway, it is not going to be read in this convention."

And as Patterson followed Allen's advice and kept his authentic dispatch in his pocket the great sensation did not develop. Watson was nominated and then Bryan was named. The Populist party there committed hari-kari.

Of the four national conventions held in 1896 the Gold Democratic convention at Indianapolis was the last and tamest. The men composing it had but a single purpose, and that was to name a ticket which would allow a certain class of men to vote against Bryan.

They were earnest men, but they simply represented a protest against what had taken place at Chicago. In naming such ancient worthies as Palmer and Buckner they notified the country that they expected no actual results.

It was Bryan's contention that supporters of Palmer and Buckner were not real Democrats. None could ever purge himself sufficiently to secure a Democratic nomination for either President or Vice President, not even those who came back in 1900 and supported Bryan.

CHAPTER XIX

A BUSINESS CAMPAIGN

Unlimited Funds Placed at the Disposal of the Republicans—Hanna Was a Liberal Spender and Lavish with Money—Special Trains, Spell-Binders, Campaign Clubs, Features of the Canvass—Methods of Getting Out the Vote—Bryan and His Whirlwind Tours of the Country—Cleveland Administration Favors McKinley—Personal Characteristics of the Clevelands.

UNLIMITED money was poured into the campaign which Mark Hanna managed in 1896. There was no difficulty in raising all the money that could be spent, and more. Free silver, the attack upon the courts, and the general anti-corporation character of the Democratic platform, together with the radical utterances of Bryan and his supporters, scared business men of the country to such an extent that they never hesitated when Hanna or his collectors came knocking at their doors. How much money was raised and spent? Who can tell? Whether it was ten or fifteen millions does not matter. All that was needed was raised and there was a comfortable surplus left after every dollar that was possible to spend had been spent.

Charges of bribery and corruption were made by the Democrats, particularly in regard to Ohio and Indiana and in a number of other states classed as doubtful. That was because of the very large vote cast. In Ohio

there was one vote for every four people, which is an extraordinary showing, one in five being considered more than the average. Very large sums of money were spent to get the voters to the polls. The system adopted was not bribery, but it gave the party with the money an advantage over the party with limited funds.

It was rather simple. Every person with a vehicle of any kind was employed to transport voters from their homes to the election booths and also to take them home. Voters who were at work and possibly subject to loss of time while going to the election were paid for their time, many upon a very liberal basis. Farmers who had to leave their fields were recompensed for their loss of time and for the loss of time of their hired hands; they were also paid to bring voters to and from the polls. Every voter, no matter in what condition he may have been, was sought out and taken to the polls to cast his vote. Every county chairman, district chairman, precinct captain, together with all their lieutenants, and all other willing workers, were supplied with money to get out the votes. The same care was taken in regard to registration of voters. No votes were lost by reason of the failure of men to register.

All this vast army of workers was paid liberally. It was not bribery, nor corruption; it came under the head of "legitimate campaign expenses," just as did many other campaign expenditures that year.

All sorts of clubs and political organizations were financed. Let any man go to Hanna with a proposition to arouse the interest of voters and inject enthusi-

asm into any class of people and the expenses of the plan were forthcoming. Nor was there any difficulty in regard to spell-binders. Any man with a voice and a gift of oratory could find employment. Every town, village and hamlet had its political meetings, with bands, marching clubs, advertising, and all other accessories to make them attractive and successful. Some very high-priced orators were employed during the entire campaign.

Mr. McKinley did not go on the stump, but remained at Canton where he received many organizations from all parts of the country. To these visiting delegations he made short speeches from the porch of his residence. All the grass around the house was trampled down by the crowds that went to see the candidate. The expenses of these political pilgrims were paid by the national committee.

Then there was the Old Soldiers' Touring Special, a train of Pullmans carrying a number of officers and a few privates of the civil war, who visited many states and made speeches to the old soldiers urging their support of Comrade McKinley.

No state that might possibly be carried by the Republicans was overlooked. Missouri was invaded, which recalls an incident. One of the men induced to go to his old home and speak for the Republicans was former Senator John B. Henderson, who had represented the state in the United States Senate during the Civil War. He met a few men he once knew, but most of those to whom he spoke were strangers, and that in a

land where he at one time knew every man. The trip was rather depressing for the old man.

"This is the last time I shall ever come among you," said the venerable statesman, at one of the towns. "I presume you do not care, and I am sure I do not."

The quick way in which Hanna handled questions was shown by the manner in which he disposed of a proposition submitted by George D. Meiklejohn, a former congressman from Nebraska. Meiklejohn knew of the work which Father Stephan had done in the campaign of 1892, when the shrewd political churchman had toured the country against Harrison on account of the treatment of the Catholic Indian schools by Commissioner Morgan. Meiklejohn told Hanna about it.

"Can you get him?" asked Hanna.

"I think so," replied Meiklejohn.

"Go and get him, and don't haggle," directed Hanna.

Meiklejohn convinced the old campaigner that it was to the interests near his heart to support the Republican ticket. Stephan went over the same ground he covered in 1892, but he was for McKinley on his second tour.

Meiklejohn was afterwards appointed Assistant Secretary of War by McKinley. Hanna always tried to reward his useful friends.

Mr. Bryan's campaign was very spectacular. It was one of constant travel and speech-making. Early in the canvass it was learned that the people wanted to see and hear Bryan and he was constantly on the go, making speeches day and night. He earned the repu-

tation then, which he afterwards maintained, of being the most marvelous campaigner America has ever known.

No doubt the tremendous crowds which listened to and cheered Bryan convinced him and those who travelled with him that he would be elected. This belief spread over a wide region and was often expressed in Republican headquarters. The reports caused Hanna and his lieutenants to put forth redoubled efforts.

It all seemed so strange and unreal. The Democratic party had been split wide open on the tariff and silver issues. Whole delegations had refused to vote in the national convention after the silver platform was adopted; and yet before the campaign was half over it seemed that this young man from out the West might sweep the country and enter the White House in triumph.

Bryan coined the phrase "the enemy's country" when he went to speak in New York, and ever after it was a real "enemy's country" for him.

Those were the days when men who were afraid to use the word "gold" spoke of "sound money." Naturally the Democrats took umbrage at the term, because as it was used they were, by implication, put in the position of being in favor of "unsound money." They claimed that silver was as "sound" as gold.

The attitude of the Cleveland administration never was in doubt. Nominally the Administration was for the Palmer and Buckner ticket, actually it was for the

Republican ticket, and the various departments were busy hives of workers for McKinley. Men appointed as Democrats became Republicans and many remained with the party, holding office four years under Cleveland and sixteen years under succeeding Republican administrations, and only again recollecting that they were real Democrats after the election of 1912.

Hoke Smith was the only Cabinet member who resigned. He was for "sound money," but he wanted to keep his Democracy on straight and so he went back to Georgia and supported Bryan.

David R. Francis of Missouri succeeded Smith in the Interior Department and forever after he was on Bryan's blacklist. No man who did not support Bryan in that campaign has ever been forgiven by the Nebraska candidate. As late as 1908, Francis wanted to be the candidate for Vice President with Bryan, but he was denied, although he had supported Bryan in 1900 and they had become personal friends.

Was the election of 1896 a close contest? Well, it might have been close. At least it was carefully figured out that a change of 34,000 votes in the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, if divided in the right proportion, would have given Bryan a majority of one in the electoral college. At all events, but for the wonderful campaign that Hanna made there is no doubt that McKinley would have been defeated.

After the election very little attention was paid to the Cleveland administration. The Democrats were about to bid good-bye to Federal control for sixteen

years, but of course they did not know that it would be such a long period. Cleveland was pleased to have any man elected rather than Bryan, and he welcomed McKinley as his successor on that account.

Socially the Clevelands made a success of the administration. Mrs. Cleveland was a most charming White House hostess. Not only at the public and official receptions did she win friends, but her small informal parties were a great delight to her guests. She was very accessible and it was easy to arrange to have out-of-town friends presented at the White House. These receptions were not at all formal, and the visitors sat down with the First Lady of the Land quite the same as they would have done in any lady's drawing room while making a call.

Little short of criminal were some of the attacks made upon the Clevelands. The assertion that Mrs. Cleveland was ill-treated was on a par with another that one of the children was defective. Statements regarding Mr. Cleveland's habits were greatly exaggerated. No doubt Mr. Cleveland did like his whiskey, and it may have been that on some of the fishing trips on the light-house tenders with special cronies for companions he over-indulged. But we never heard of Cleveland being unable to attend to business on account of drink.

There was a story told about Cleveland in this regard. Dan Lamont was with him at a function in the West. It was a cold, blustering day and a member of the committee thought that the visitors might like

a drink of something warming, and procured two glasses of whiskey. Cleveland tossed off one and picking up the other, remarked:

"Daniel doesn't drink."

And that followed the first.

On one occasion Major John M. Carson, one of the few newspaper men on intimate terms with Cleveland, called upon him to urge the appointment of an army officer to be a brigadier general in one of the staff departments.

"Major," said the President, "they tell me that your man drinks too much."

"Mr. President," replied Carson, "he takes a drink just as you and I do, when he feels like it. If he came into town to-day I would meet him on the street and say, 'Let's go down to Shoo's,' and I would do the same with you if you were a colonel in the army and not President."

The man was made a brigadier general.

Many years after when Cleveland was living at Princeton a number of newspaper men happened to be in the old college town and went to call on the ex-President. It is an interesting fact that two members of the party, both pronounced Democrats who had supported Cleveland in three campaigns, felt so bitter towards him that they would not call on him.

Mr. Cleveland received us in a very informal manner. He seemed rather glad we had called and talked about his old friends in Washington and chatted about past incidents. One member of the party knew several

intimate friends of Cleveland in Buffalo, and reminiscences of his days in that city occupied some time.

Just as we made a move to go, Cleveland said:

"Hold on a minute. On such an occasion we must do something more than exchange a little gossip."

He summoned a servant and directed that a tray, glasses and a pitcher of water be taken to the billiard room. Then he led the way to that room and, going to a side-board, he took out a bottle and held it up and looked at the label.

"This seems all right," he remarked, and reaching into a pocket for a corkscrew, opened the bottle and began pouring the liquor into the glasses, passing them out to us.

"Here, Major," he said, as he came to Carson, "you always liked a man's size drink," and he poured out a double quantity.

He went to another place and brought out an elaborate box of various brands of cigars, a dozen different varieties and sizes.

"A friend from the South had this fixed up for me," he said, "but it's a little out of place. Perhaps you can find a cigar you will like," and he passed them around.

After further talk we took our leave. Those who had not been personally acquainted with Mr. Cleveland were rather surprised at the plain, homelike manner of our reception, but he had not changed. He was just like that in the White House to those whom he knew.

There were many people who did not like Mr. Cleveland, but he had his friends and those who knew him best did not regard him as either a coarse or unapproachable man. I remember an instance which showed a side of his character little known. I took my little son to the White House one morning. We entered a room in which several Senators and Representatives were seeking interviews with the President. As we waited the boy coughed at times. Presently we were invited into the President's room, and as we entered, Mr. Cleveland said:

"That boy's got the whooping cough; don't you know that? You ought not to have him out in this kind of weather."

I replied that I did not know it.

"Well, he has; I know it," said the President. "I know all about children and the whooping cough."

He wrote his name on a card with a picture of the White House on it and handed it to the boy.

"Here, young man, that may be of some interest to you when you are as old as your father."

Then he added:

"Now, take that boy home and have that whooping cough looked after. It won't do to trifle with such things."

And sure enough, the boy did have the whooping cough.

CHAPTER XX

A NEW ADMINISTRATION

President McKinley Selects a Cabinet; Political Expediency and Personal Considerations Govern—Senators Were Going to Give Mark Hanna the Cold Shoulder, but His Personality and Power Overcame Opposition—Devotion of the President to His Wife—When Cortelyou First Appeared—Retirement of Prominent Men from Congress.

DURING the winter of 1897 President-elect McKinley selected the members of his Cabinet. It was a Cabinet constructed on a plan of political expediency and personal choice, and was not a strong body. The first surprise was when John Sherman was taken out of the Senate to be made Secretary of State. Sherman was then too old for such a place. His mind was giving way and he often caused much confusion in his dealings with diplomats. It was found necessary to turn the business over to William R. Day, the First Assistant Secretary and a personal friend of the President. The confusion in the State Department was illustrated by a diplomat, who confided his troubles to a newspaper friend:

"I am at a loss about conducting business with your government," he said. "The head of the Department knows nothing; the First Assistant says nothing; the Second Assistant hears nothing."

Mr. Day was very reticent, while Second Assistant Adee was very deaf, which explains the diplomat's remarks.

Sherman was lifted out of the Senate in order to make a place for Mark Hanna, who wanted a seat in the Senate.

When it was known that Hanna was to come to the Senate there was much discussion among the Senators. They were not well pleased because Hanna had nominated a man they did not want for President; and they did not intend to allow him to assume authority in the Senate such as he had exhibited during the short time he had been in politics.

"He will be made to know his place here," remarked Senator Davis of Minnesota. "He cannot boss the Senate as he has bossed everybody outside. We have a method of our own in giving a man the cold shoulder. We know the art of sitting down on a man."

But how different it all turned out. In the first place Hanna was a jovial, fun-loving man, with a keen sense of humor and good-fellowship standing out all over him. Besides, the Republican Senators found that it was not good policy to "give the cold shoulder" to the man who was so close to their President, the man behind the throne, the man with the power. In a little while Hanna was one of the half dozen Senators of the "inner circle," that compact organization which at that time managed the Senate. He was a welcome member of the "Big Six," which at the time Hanna was admitted consisted of Aldrich, Allison, Hale, Platt of Connecti-

cut, Spooner and Hanna. Lodge had been one of the "six," but was pushed out to make room for Hanna, or at least that was attempted, but Lodge was not easily thrust aside and often declared himself "in" on conferences which were held by the others, much to their annoyance.

Lyman J. Gage, a banker in Chicago, was chosen as Secretary of the Treasury. The selection was supposed to be on account of services which Gage had been able to render in connection with raising money for the campaign in the western metropolis.

General Russell A. Alger was named for Secretary of War. The selection was a tribute to the men of the Civil War, Alger at that time being one of the principal surviving Union officers active in politics. He was a politician of prominence, having several times been Michigan's candidate for the Presidency. But it was a strange proceeding to bring Sherman and Alger into the same Cabinet, and what made the situation all the more embarrassing was the publication of Sherman's memoirs at that time in which he accused Alger agents of buying his Delegates at the convention in 1888, and thus defeating him for the nomination.

John D. Long for Secretary of the Navy and Joseph McKenna for Attorney General, were personal appointments by McKinley. He had served in the House with them and he was moving McKenna forward to a place on the Supreme bench.

James A. Gary for Postmaster General and Cornelius N. Bliss for Secretary of the Interior were political

appointments. Bliss had been very useful during the campaign as treasurer of the national committee.

One selection was particularly meritorious. That was James Wilson for Secretary of Agriculture. He remained in the office sixteen years, serving under both of McKinley's successors, breaking the record for long service in the Cabinet.

William McKinley was beyond doubt the most popular man in the country when he was inaugurated, and he was fortunate in retaining that popularity to the day of his death. While there were partisan criticisms of his Administration and one of his Cabinet was forced to resign, for McKinley himself there were only kind words. His desire to accommodate people, or at least not to offend them, amounting in some cases to weakness, was a characteristic which was almost a fault.

McKinley was well fitted by experience for President when he went to the White House. Fourteen years in the House of Representatives and four years as Governor of Ohio had given him ample opportunities to learn the needs of the country and the best methods of administration.

Physically he was a fine specimen. Of medium height, stockily built, his clothes fitting him well, he made a fine figure of a man. His face was dark and clean-shaven, and eyebrows pronounced, almost "beetling," gave him the appearance of sternness which he did not possess, for McKinley was a gentle, kindly disposed man.

McKinley's constant and almost heroic devotion to

his invalid wife made him a popular idol. Those who saw Mrs. McKinley during the inauguration ceremonies thought she was a stricken woman. Her chalky white face and general appearance of weakness showed so unmistakably her serious physical condition that no one would have been surprised if she had collapsed at any moment. Throughout his Administration she was the object of the President's solicitous care, and even at times of great national stress his consideration for Mrs. McKinley was never abated. Subject to attacks in which she frequently lapsed into unconsciousness, she always occupied a seat beside the President at official dinners in order that she might receive immediate attention from him in case one came on. At the White House receptions she occupied a chair beside the President, who shook hands with the guests, the First Lady of the Land looking rather blankly at the procession passing in front of her.

During all the trying period of the Spanish war and throughout his public career McKinley continued his devoted attendance upon his wife and no one ever heard him utter one word of complaint. Nor did he make a martyr of himself in any way whatever. He simply accepted the care of an invalid wife as part of the daily duties of a husband, and neither by word nor gesture did he betray that it was a great burden.

McKinley appointed J. Addison Porter of Connecticut as his private secretary. It was not a happy selection. Mr. Porter knew very little about Washington and less about public men. He was of very little help

to the President and for the most part he busied himself with the social side of the White House life and other matters of little importance.

The real work of private secretary fell upon George B. Cortelyou, whose position was that of confidential stenographer to the President. He had held that position under Cleveland. Cortelyou's entrance into public and political life was an illustration of the conjunction of opportunity and the man. Robert L. O'Brien was the confidential stenographer for Mr. Cleveland at the White House, but resigned to become a Washington correspondent, believing there was a larger field of usefulness for him in newspaper work. The evening of his resignation Fourth Assistant Postmaster General Maxwell was at the White House. He was known as "Headsman Bob," having charge of the fourth class postoffice appointments and having been very diligent in cutting off Republican heads for the benefit of Democrats. Maxwell and Cleveland had been cronies at Buffalo and they often had long chats together in the evening at the White House. Cleveland told Maxwell of his trouble in losing a good stenographer and his dislike to breaking in a new man.

"I've got the very man you want," said Maxwell. "I don't want to lose him, but I'll do anything for you. He is a fourteen-hundred-dollar clerk in the Postoffice Department and is my private secretary. He is a mighty good man, efficient, close-mouthed, always on hand when you want him, never watches the clock or complains about long hours. He is a complete master of

detail and never forgets anything. His name is Cortelyou."

"Send him up," replied Mr. Cleveland.

And that is the way George B. Cortelyou started on his marvelous career.

Private Secretary Thurber never paid any attention to the real work of his office and Mr. Cleveland relied upon his confidential stenographer. After Mr. Porter had been installed President McKinley found it wise to do the same, and it was Cortelyou who knew all the details of White House business, knew whom the President ought to see, knew when he ought to push a man out of the President's room by ushering in another visitor or by calling the attention of the President to an important engagement. In fact he was all that Bob Maxwell had said he was. And when Porter resigned as private secretary Cortelyou was promoted, and continued to hold the position until President Roosevelt made him the first Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

In after years when Cortelyou was such a prominent figure, particularly after he had held three Cabinet positions and was being talked of as a presidential possibility, Hugh C. Wallace of Tacoma, Wash., member of the Democratic National Committee during Cleveland's administration, and later Ambassador to France, made this observation:

"Why, think of the way Cortelyou has gone up. It was not so very many years ago that I was dictating to him my recommendations for the appointment of fourth class postmasters in the state of Washington."

The close of the Fifty-fourth Congress on March 4, 1897, saw the retirement of quite a number of men who had become prominent in public life. The Senators who were not returned were Pugh of Alabama, Call of Florida, Gordon of Georgia, Dubois of Idaho, Palmer of Illinois, Voorhees of Indiana, Peffer of Kansas, Blackburn of Kentucky, Blanchard of Louisiana, Gibson of Maryland, Hill of New York, Brice of Ohio, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Squire of Washington and Vilas of Wisconsin.

Pugh, Call, Gordon and Blanchard were succeeded by Democrats; Palmer, Voorhees, Blackburn, Gibson, Hill, Brice and Vilas by Republicans; Dubois and Squire by men who were elected by a fusion of Democrats and Populists, but who acted with the Democrats; and Peffer by a Democrat. Cameron was succeeded by a Republican. Cameron voluntarily retired, and lived to see his successor elected four successive times.

Pugh had been in the Senate eighteen years and seemed to be a fixture, as Alabama has the habit of keeping her Senators in office as long as they live. He was somewhat irascible with strangers, and abrupt even with his constituents. Among these constituents was Edmund W. Pettus, a man near seventy years of age, who wanted to be judge of the United States District Court. No President would appoint a man a judge who was more than sixty years, and generally they hesitate to select one that old. Pugh wrote to Pettus a rather short letter saying he was too old for the judgeship.

"Well," said Pettus, "I may be too old for a judge, but I'm not too old for the Senate."

He at once made a campaign and much to the surprise of everybody defeated Pugh for the primary nomination.

Pugh had a habit of saying just what he thought. One day after he had a controversy with Senator Berry of Arkansas, and was evidently much disturbed by the result, he went into the cloak room, and in his hoarse, rasping voice, said to Senator Vest of Missouri:

"Vest, there are two kinds of a demagogue, the natural and artificial; but I'm damned if Berry isn't both."

Wilkinson Call was the most dreary talker I ever heard in the Senate. That is a pretty broad statement, but I will stand by it. No other man could talk so long and tediously as Call. His voice was disagreeable, he had a disagreeable countenance, he was always against something or somebody, generally some one in Florida whom no one in Washington knew or cared about. And yet his speeches on some of the great subjects of the day read well. His English was good and his ideas were not bad when separated from his personality.

One of the most interesting matters connected with Call came about on account of a story written for the Associated Press by Howard Thompson, who happened to be reporting the Senate. Some other Senator was occupying the floor and was almost as prosy as Call, per-

haps it was Stewart of Nevada talking on the "crime of '73."

I might digress, right here, to explain that last remark, as there are so many people of the younger generation who do not know what it means. The Nevada Senator never tired of talking about silver and he never talked about silver without alluding to "the crime of 1873." He referred to the coinage act of that year which dropped the silver dollar out of the currency of the United States as a unit and made the gold dollar the unit of value. Stewart always claimed that was a deep, dark, dastardly "crime," and he always held John Sherman responsible for it.

But to return to Call: He became weary and his feet hurt him and finally he took off his shoes. Then he leaned back comfortably and a little later a shoeless foot was elevated to his desk. He wore those old fashioned knit blue woolen socks of early days. Howard Thompson saw the foot and the socks and, liking Call about as well as anybody else did, he wrote one of his best stories of the occurrence. I do not remember whether it was sent out by the Associated Press or not, but it went into the papers, was copied in all the papers in Florida opposed to Call, and that was pretty nearly the entire list, and made him a peck of trouble. Call brought it up in the Senate and was particularly fierce in his denunciation of the slanderous writers who had so maliciously assailed him. He also denied the sock story, but no denial ever gets anywhere with a story of that kind.

The soldierly General Gordon was the last of the prominent Confederate generals in the Senate. There were men who held commissions as major and brigadier generals, but Gordon was a lieutenant general and had important commands in the southern army.

John M. Palmer was an old man when he came to the Senate, with a military record behind him, for he was a Union general. He was a kindly old man, liked by everybody and full of stories about Illinois of the early days.

Dan Voorhees, "the tall Sycamore of the Wabash," as he was known in the days when he was a regular fire-eater, retired after years of service in both House and Senate. During the Civil War he was in the House, where he denounced the methods employed to preserve the Union, and was styled a "Copperhead." Voorhees, although an opponent of the war, was ever a friend of the Union soldier in after years. He was always an earnest advocate of all pensions.

It was not the last appearance of Joe Blackburn. He went only for a little while, but returned again and even after one more term continued to serve the Government in other positions, outlasting many younger Senators of that time.

There was no regret expressed concerning the retirement of Dave Hill, save by those newspaper men who knew him well, and whom he had so often helped in their work about the Senate. But none of the Senators had made friends with him. He did not smoke, he never took a drink, nor did he play cards, and seldom went

into society. He could tell some very good political stories, but he never intruded himself in the cloak rooms, consequently he was very much apart from the other Senators. "He flocks by himself," was the comment of one Senator, which explained Hill's isolation and his unpopularity.

Long before Hill left the Senate a partial reconciliation was effected between him and Cleveland. Hill went to the White House one evening and it caused the sensation of the season.

When Cal. Brice left the Senate he retired from politics, devoting the remainder of his life to business. An incident of his business life occurred very soon after. Brice decided to buy a large block of sugar stock. He sought Havemeyer, the head of the sugar company, and informed the magnate of his intention. After talking over sugar conditions Brice said that before he made the purchase he would like to look at the books.

"My books are for myself," curtly replied Havemeyer.

"Good day," said Brice; "I'm in the habit of dealing from the inside, myself."

Vilas of Wisconsin passed from the political stage. He had held two Cabinet positions in the first Cleveland administration, and had ever been Cleveland's most devoted friend. He refused to support Bryan after the adoption of the silver plank in 1896, and that ended his political career, particularly so far as any hope of higher honors was concerned.

No one regarded Watson C. Squire as a statesman,

although I will give him credit for the monument which was so long in course of construction to commemorate General Grant. He was a good-natured, likeable man, inclined to go along with the tide of events. Something of this will be gathered from the following incident. Squire had been the first Senator from Washington and once re-elected. He was again a candidate, but the Republicans lost control of the legislature. Upon his return to Washington after the election, Frank Pettigrew, talking about the prospects, asked:

"What are you now, Squire, Republican, Democrat, or Pop?"

"Oh, I'm Pop now," replied Squire, beaming blandly; "got a Pop legislature."

It was the last of William A. Peffer in the Senate, but not the last of him in Washington. During the six years he had served in the Senate he won many friends. He was more of a Republican than a Populist and acted with the Republicans most of the time during his stay in the Senate. A kindly, whimsical old gentleman, with rather advanced ideas, and a long growth of whiskers, which brought him more notoriety than his talents brought him fame, he came and went without making any particular impression upon the legislative history of the country. At the close of his term the Republicans provided him with a job about the Senate library, compiling or indexing or something, that kept him busy during the remainder of his days.

CHAPTER XXI

EXTRA SESSION OF 1897

Fifty-fifth Congress Convened to Revise the Tariff—Republicans in Control—The Dingley Bill—Vice President Hobart Receives Recognition—An Interview with McKinley Never Heretofore Published; the President Did Not Believe He Was an Accident.

PRESIDENT McKINLEY soon after his inauguration called the Fifty-fifth Congress in extra session to revise the tariff. The Republicans had regained control of the Government, but it was not surmised by anybody at that time that they would have such a long lease of power.

Reed was elected Speaker for his third and last term. Although he could not win the Presidency he continued in the second place of power in the country. The prominence of Maine in the nation at that time was somewhat remarkable. Besides Reed as Speaker, Nelson Dingley was Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and leader of the House; Charles A. Boutelle was Chairman of Naval Affairs and Seth Milliken was Chairman of Public Buildings and Grounds. William P. Frye was President *pro tempore* of the Senate and Chairman of the Committee on Commerce, while Eugene Hale was Chairman of Naval Affairs and the most forceful and dominating man on the Appropriations Committee.

Each of these men from Maine had been in continuous congressional service for more than sixteen years and several of them for a much longer period. Maine was the most powerful state in Congress, even with its small representation.

The Democrats nominated Joseph W. Bailey for Speaker, and he became the minority leader, although men of much longer service desired the honor. Then as always he was a strong, impetuous man, given too much to petty matters which he magnified, and not confining himself to the really great questions that were before the country.

Champ Clark came back after two years' vacation, as did Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming. James R. Mann of Illinois was a new member.

The most prominent new senators were Thomas C. Platt of New York, Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio, Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania, John C. Spooner of Wisconsin, and Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana.

Platt had been in the Senate before and resigned with Roscoe Conkling when the New York Senators had their disagreement with President Garfield over patronage.

Spooner had served six years, but was retired by the Democratic landslide of 1890. Upon his return in 1897, he took his place as a leading man without having to serve any apprenticeship as a new Senator. He and his friends had been for McKinley early in the presidential campaign and he stood high with the new Administration.

Fairbanks had been a McKinley champion early in

the contest and was selected by the McKinley men for temporary chairman of the convention at St. Louis. He was a man of ability, one of careful and considerate manners, a certain marked reticence, a seeming lack of confidence in those whom he met, and a general aloofness, which gained for him the reputation of a cold, austere sort of personage, which was ever damaging to his political prospects. That there was a misconception concerning him made no difference. He was the victim of his mannerisms, which his enemies were always too anxious to exaggerate and use to his disadvantage.

One of the new senators was Henry Heitfeld of Idaho, who came to the Senate in a way that does not often happen. He was elected by his own vote in a very close and doubtful contest. The Idaho legislature was mixed, neither Republicans, Democrats, nor Populists having a majority. The Democrats and Populists were inclined to fusion, but there were so many aspirants that they could not unite on any one man.

Heitfeld was a Populist member of the legislature and at times received a number of votes, he himself always voting for another man. One day there was quite a large vote cast for Heitfeld, but no one supposed that he was near an election. When the roll call was completed Heitfeld arose and said:

"Mr. President, I desire to change my vote. I vote for Heitfeld."

This produced a loud roar of laughter and a great deal of chaffing of Heitfeld, and meanwhile the clerks were making up the tally, and the first

thing that legislature knew the presiding officer was saying:

"Henry Heitfeld having received a majority of all the votes is hereby declared elected United States Senator for the term of six years."

Heitfeld had carefully kept track of the votes and when he found that he could be elected by his own vote he voted for himself. Many a man has been elected to the Senate by methods far less commendable.

Boies Penrose came to the Senate as a Pennsylvania organization man. He was a part of the Cameron-Quay machine which had so long dominated Pennsylvania; worked in absolute harmony with Quay and was for the organization first and always. He was comparatively young when he came to the Senate, and a fine type of manhood, large in bulk, and tall in stature, with curly, dark hair. A man of education, wealth and political standing, it was somewhat surprising that Penrose should have been a bachelor.

"Boies," said one of his friends, "you ought to get married, now that you are down there in Washington. You ought to have a place in society, and you can't do that very well without a wife."

"Do you think so?" replied Penrose. "Well, if you will find an agreeable lady who is acceptable to the organization, I will marry her."

And he never drooped an eyelid nor changed the serious, earnest look that induced Champ Clark to describe it as that of a graven image.

Of all the new Senators none was so well known

throughout the whole country as Foraker. During the twelve years he was in the Senate he was a forceful, commanding figure, independent of party managers and wholly confident of himself. He never belonged to the "inner circle," never was a member of the "steering committee," nor was he considered eligible as one of the coterie that surrounded the "inner circle" and were a sort of outside fringe or body guard to the "Big Six."

Foraker was an officer in the Civil War, entering that conflict before he was of lawful age. He was a power in Ohio politics, was twice Governor, and many times one of the "big four," as delegates-at-large to national conventions are called. As far back as 1884, he had placed John Sherman in nomination for President. In 1888 he seconded Sherman's nomination. It is reported that if he had become a second Garfield and yielded to the persuasion of friends, he might have been nominated in the convention of 1888 instead of Harrison. Foraker twice placed McKinley in nomination for President, at St. Louis and Philadelphia. And at no time was he a real McKinley man.

Many years before, in 1884 I think, he had reason to feel that McKinley was not entirely dependable. Then, in after years he had a break with Mark Hanna and McKinley was Mark Hanna's favorite. Naturally, it was with no degree of ardor that Foraker went upon the platform and named McKinley for President, because he must have felt all the time that he, more than McKinley, was entitled to be Ohio's favorite son.

When it became known in 1896 that Foraker was to

place McKinley in nomination, a newspaper man went to him and asked him for an advance copy of his speech. He was told that Foraker never prepared his speeches in advance.

"I suppose, Governor," said the newspaper man, "that this will be the greatest effort of your life?"

"What do you think I would do for a friend?" was the reply, the tone as much as the words indicating that Foraker did not feel elated at the prospect.

Foraker had an opportunity to show his mettle in the Senate during the first session. Senator Allen of Nebraska, in one of his impetuous and vigorous speeches, asserted that the election of 1896 had been carried by fraud and corruption, and charged that the greatest corruption was in Ohio. Foraker went into the affray as if leading a cavalry charge, and soon had Allen backing from one place to another, because the Ohio Senator insisted upon specific instances and data of election frauds. Having every part of Ohio and all conditions in his mind, Foraker was able to make a defense of his state that nonplussed the Nebraska Senator.

The Republicans had a bare majority in the Senate. Had all the silver men and Populists voted with the Democrats, it would have required the vote of the Vice President to carry a measure. But there were silver men like Jones and Stewart of Nevada, who had not gone over to the Democrats on anything except silver and were still strong protectionists.

The Ways and Means Committee for a long time had been working on a tariff bill and the Dingley bill was

presented soon after the House was organized. With machine-like precision it was pushed through the House. Nothing of any moment happened during its consideration in that body. The Republicans were all committed to a higher tariff and the Dingley bill was drawn on the lines of the McKinley bill, which they asserted had received endorsement in the recent election.

When the bill was reported from the committee some one called Reed's attention to the rather excessive duties on toothpicks, almost wholly a Maine product.

"I have paid very little attention to the details of the bill," drawled Reed; "I felt that I could trust the governor"—he always called Dingley governor—"to look after Maine's interests."

There was the usual trouble about the sugar schedule when the bill reached the Senate. Aldrich had framed the schedule and it was a wonderful production. He devoted several hours to an explanation in the Senate, and when he concluded everybody knew less than before. But the Senate was not going to trust Aldrich with that schedule, nor with the bill. There was an insurgent movement, but before it reached any large proportions Aldrich became conveniently ill, and the management of the bill was turned over to Allison.

There was a flurry about the woolen schedule. Senators representing wool-growing states thought the manufacturers had the best of them in the rates proposed. At first no attention was paid to their protests. Then one day Foraker, Carter, and a few

other Republicans from wool-producing states, voted with the Democrats on one of the items in the schedule and disarranged the entire scheme. This caused a great deal of consternation. Allison, who was forever smoothing things out, was very much distressed. He hastily adjourned the Senate and the wool insurgents were called in conference. The schedule was rewritten in a form satisfactory to the protesting Senators and there was no more trouble over the tariff bill.

Before the bill was reported to the Senate, Elkins of West Virginia had some difficulty in getting the Finance Committee to give him what he wanted for his state. He had several interviews with Aldrich, whose bland smile and somewhat patronizing, if not supercilious air, exasperated Elkins.

"You assume to know all about the tariff," bluntly remarked Elkins, "but your knowledge is limited. You may know all about Rhode Island jack-knives and Connecticut jimcracks, but you don't know anything about the broad commercial considerations of supply and demand, transportation, and many other matters that enter into the subject of tariffs."

That was a costly outburst for Elkins. He was ambitious during his entire career in the Senate to secure a place on the Finance Committee, but Aldrich treasured up that remark and would not allow Elkins to become a member of the committee which he dominated.

A singularly interesting development of the early days of the McKinley administration was the treatment of the Vice President. For the first time in my

recollection, and the last, for that matter, the Vice President was recognized as somebody, as a part of the Administration, and as a part of the body over which he presided.

Garret A. Hobart was a friend of McKinley and had been very useful to Hanna both before and after the nomination at St. Louis. Very soon after he began to preside over the Senate he made many friends in that body. He was consulted by the Senators and was one of them to all intents and purposes; he was not looked upon as simply a necessary evil which the Constitution foisted upon them as a presiding officer.

He was not looked upon as one waiting for "a dead man's shoes." He was a frequent and welcome guest at the White House and in the consultations which McKinley had with prominent men in Congress it nearly always happened that Hobart was called in just as were Cabinet officers.

Hobart was a genial man, a business politician, with a knowledge of the conditions which then governed the relations between business and politics and was very helpful in making adjustments. In this he was useful to the Senate and to the President.

The idea which seems to prevail that a Vice President is simply a vulture waiting for something to happen to the President recalls a story of George Vest.

The Missouri Senator and Amos J. Cummings were fishing down South one winter. A cold day came and Vest, then in poor health, was huddled up in the boat, his coat collar turned up over his ears. Cummings

caught a stingaree, one of the useless creatures that prey upon fish and interfere with the real sport. They pulled inshore and the creature was flung upon the sand where it began to curl up and shrivel away. At that moment a certain kind of fish hawk alighted upon a limb of a tree and sat watching the stingaree collapse.

"Amos," said Vest, "do you see that old crow watching that stingaree? Well, down in Missouri there is an old crow, Bill Stone, who is watching me just like that fellow on the limb is watching that stingaree. He wants to come to the Senate."

But Vest did not die in the Senate. He quit when his health no longer permitted him to serve his state.

President McKinley never talked much about himself or his affairs, but once he ventured on the personal and political side of his career and showed that he resented the idea that his advancement to the Presidency had any features of accident or luck. I had an interview with him on the subject which has not been published heretofore.

"You know they talk of McKinley luck, Mr. President," I said. "It is claimed that you were lucky in being defeated for Speaker of the Fifty-first Congress, otherwise your name would not have been associated with the tariff bill which gave you a reputation and which finally brought about your nomination for President."

"Well, at all events," replied Mr. McKinley, "I had to have a majority of the Delegates at the national convention. The other candidates and their friends

tried to get all the Delegates they could. As you remember, there was quite a lively race in the early stages of the campaign previous to the convention in 1896.

"I was not an unknown presidential possibility in 1896," continued the President. "I had served in the Union Army during the Civil War; I had served fourteen years in the House of Representatives and was Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee during the Fifty-first Congress. After having been defeated for Congress in a gerrymandered district in 1890, I was twice elected Governor of Ohio and had served four years as chief executive of that state before the national convention of 1896. In the national convention of 1888 I received quite a large number of votes for President. In 1892, I received one-fourth of the votes of the Delegates in the national convention at Minneapolis, even after I had protested in the convention against the use of my name as a presidential candidate. I felt in honor bound to support Mr. Harrison who was entitled to a second term.

"The Republicans of the United States had not been entirely unmindful of the fact that I was available as a presidential candidate in at least two conventions prior to that which assembled in 1896. So far as luck is concerned it is possible that the element of chance enters into politics as it does into other affairs of life, but the selection of a presidential candidate is not often left to chance when there are assembled the representatives of a political party from all parts of the country and supposed to represent the best in that party.

"I believe that my reputation as a Republican and a protectionist had much to do with bringing about my nomination in 1896, and perhaps the McKinley tariff bill had made an impression upon many people throughout the country, especially after the Democratic tariff of 1894. But there were other considerations which induced the Republicans to select me as their nominee. It was desirable to make sure of carrying Ohio. The silver issue loomed large upon the political horizon at that time, and it would have been imprudent to have taken a man from New York or the East. New York, Pennsylvania and Maine had candidates, but the West was not satisfied with any of them. There were candidates from Iowa and Minnesota, but it was not expedient to nominate men from those states.

"I think if we should calmly review the situation as it existed, it will occur to the close student of political events that, all things considered, it was desirable to take a man from the Middle West, and that a man who had twice carried Ohio during the troublesome times previous to 1896 was entirely available as a candidate. I cannot subscribe to the idea that accident or luck had very much to do with making me President of the United States."

CHAPTER XXII

CONFLICT WITH SPAIN

War Forced upon an Unwilling Administration—Democratic Minority Aided by Republican Insurgents Overcomes Conservative Element —McKinley, Reed, Hanna and Others Cannot Stem the Tide— Bryan an Influence for War—Mistakes and Blunders as Usual— Victory in One Hundred Days.

A WAR spirit which had been dormant for more than thirty years was aroused to activity in 1898. After more than three decades of peace the desire to shed blood, coupled with the lust for land, forced an unwilling Administration into war with Spain. The United States fought a decrepit and almost bankrupt nation; wrested from her the last of her American possessions; and, going far afield, seized and held the Asiatic archipelago which had been under Spanish rule for two centuries. The course of American history was changed by the war. The United States became a world power with distant colonies. The war hastened the annexation of Hawaii and the construction of the Panama canal. It developed two men who became Presidents of the United States.

Comparatively few people want war at any time, but a determined minority, with anything like a reasonable excuse for fighting, has always been able to force a war. In 1898 there was the incentive of a suffering people

at our door struggling for freedom. More than that, there was a rich and fertile island which had ever whetted the land-hungry desire implanted in the Anglo-Saxon breast from the time of Hengist and Horsa.

The politics of the situation was also opportune. For four years the Republicans—with an eye to political effect—baited the Cleveland administration with the Cuban situation. Many Republicans tried to put through Congress a resolution recognizing the belligerent rights of the revolutionists in Cuba. Outside of Congress the filibustering expeditions against Spain were encouraged and the enforcement of strict neutrality by the United States Government was criticized.

When McKinley became President the situation was reversed. The Democrats became the baiters and the Republicans—particularly those of the conservative type—became supporters of strict neutrality and opposed everything that looked to war with Spain. The Democrats who remained in Congress after the party split of 1896 were practically all anti-Cleveland men, and they had neither pride nor purpose in defending the policies of the late Administration, but they were anxious and insistent upon "putting the Republicans in a hole."

Then there were many men in both parties who honestly and patriotically believed that Spanish rule in Cuba should cease. Spain herself, like nations or people bent on self-destruction, helped along the war spirit in this country by committing outrages and

atrocities which filled the minds of the people with horror and indignation. The stories about what was taking place in Cuba were told in a manner to inflame American manhood. Many newspapers used their utmost endeavors to arouse the people and force war for the freedom of Cuba.

During the winter of 1898 the war feeling broke forth in Congress. With an Administration intensely opposed to war, a Senate in which such leaders as Aldrich, Allison, Hale, Hanna, Platt and Spooner, the "Big Six" of the body, were determined not to have war, a House of Representatives having Tom Reed for Speaker, who was determined not to have war, war was declared. It was because the "insurgents" in the Republican party were so numerous in both Houses, and were determined to unite with the Democrats, that the Republican leaders were at length forced to yield. McKinley and Hanna, with all the power of Federal patronage, could not control a majority in either House. In the Senate were Davis of Minnesota, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Foraker of Ohio, Quay of Pennsylvania, Chandler of New Hampshire, Thurston of Nebraska, Proctor of Vermont, and other Republicans, intent upon intervention in Cuba. They were assisted by such men as Teller of Colorado, Pettigrew of South Dakota, and Cannon of Utah, who had bolted the Republican convention in 1896 on the silver issue, but who at that time had not gone clear over to the Democratic party.

Pettigrew, who was busying himself in stirring up

certain members in the house to a point of insurgency, one day explained his position to me. "I don't care anything about Cuba," he said. "The island would not be worth anything to us unless it was sunk for twenty-four hours to get rid of its present population, but I want a war with Spain, because I believe it will put us on a silver basis."

The Republicans had about fifty majority in the House, but the insurgents who broke away from the control of Tom Reed and his lieutenants numbered about forty, and were led by such men as Tawney of Minnesota, Mann and Lorimer of Illinois, Wm. Alden Smith of Michigan, Cooper of Wisconsin, and others who did not become so prominent in after life. Cooper always continued to be an insurgent or independent, but the time came when Tawney and Mann were taken into the select circle of House managers and were thereafter regular.

Joseph W. Bailey of Texas was the minority leader, and with Champ Clark as an able assistant, and the Democrats in solid phalanx behind them, marched toward the warpath. Day after day they tried to outwit the wily Reed and bring a vote upon a resolution declaring the belligerency of the Cuban revolutionists or recognizing the independence of Cuba, either of which would have brought on war with Spain. It took the greatest exertion upon the part of Reed, Cannon, Payne, Henderson, Grosvenor and Dalzell, who were the rulers of the House, to prevent a situation arising by which the Democrats, aided by insurgent Republicans, would obtain control. After the war

resolution was passed it was Champ Clark who voiced the Democratic idea in his blunt way:

"We had to take you Republicans by the scruff of the neck and drag you into this war, and now you are claiming the credit for it."

It was while Clark and Bailey were doing the dragging just alluded to that James Hamilton Lewis, then a member of the House from Washington State, met me in the corridor and delivered himself of this piece of wisdom:

"My dear boy, do you know what we are doing in there,"—indicating the chamber of the House—"and I mean my party? We are forcing a war which will give the Republicans a lease of power for the next ten years."

The brilliant Lewis underestimated the period by four years.

I repeated the remark to Senator Spooner a short time afterwards.

"So," he said, "Lewis no doubt had in mind that old jingle:

"'He digged a pit,
He digged it deep,
He digged it for his brother;
It so fell out
That he fell in
The pit he digged for t'other.'"

During the preliminary congressional skirmishes before the war resolution was passed a number of interesting incidents occurred. One of these was of a

surprising character. Redfield Proctor was one of the men from New England who had first deserted Tom Reed and gone to McKinley in 1896. He was close to the Administration, a friend of Hanna, and was one of the men who framed the gold plank of the Republican platform at St. Louis. Proctor went to Cuba and looked over the situation. Upon his return he refused to say anything, reserving himself for a speech in the Senate. When delivered the speech attracted much attention. Much to the surprise of everybody, and with a shock to Hanna and the Administration, Proctor declared for intervention.

It was Tom Reed, who, not forgetting 1896, and basing his remark upon the fact that Proctor owned large marble quarries in Vermont, delivered this sarcastic comment:

"Proctor's position might have been expected. A war will make a large market for gravestones."

The feeling between the parties was often shown when Reed and Bailey had tilts. Reed would drawl out his retorts to Bailey in the most exasperating manner, and often would carry on the dispute until Bailey would declare that an absolute falsehood was uttered, or something to that effect, and Reed would remark that the members of the House could pass upon a question of fact. Bailey was fiery in those days, but he never reached a stage of assaulting the big New England Speaker.

The Administration was doing everything in its power to prevent war. President McKinley did not want war,

nor did any of the men who were conservative in their views. Even some of the Republicans who had tried to embarrass the Cleveland administration were then in a pacific mood. Big business, which never before had such a hold upon a national administration, was doing everything in its power to prevent war.

It was about this time that McKinley's attitude brought forth that tart criticism from Theodore Roosevelt to the effect that "McKinley had a backbone of about the same consistency as a jelly-fish." Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy and was doing everything he could to bring about intervention in Cuba.

All the great powers of Europe did their utmost to prevent war. The Catholic Church took a hand and Archbishop Ireland was called from St. Paul and through the Vatican tried to bring pressure to bear on Spain to avoid a conflict. This method had almost succeeded at one stage. Senator Elkins of West Virginia, who was a fluent Spanish linguist, was in frequent communication with Minister Dupuy de Lome. After one of these conferences, in which Archbishop Ireland had taken part, Elkins was jubilant.

"It's all fixed," he told me. "Spain is going to relinquish Cuba. It is not going to be one of those autonomy propositions, but a real withdrawal of Spanish power from Cuba. It only remains now to arrange the details so that Spain can retire gracefully."

Then appeared the famous De Lome letter in which the Spanish minister called President McKinley a cheap

politician playing to the jingoes in the United States while trying to pull the wool over the minister's eyes. Of course, De Lome had to go forthwith. His successor was never able to do much in the way of peace negotiations.

There are people who believe that if the *Maine* had not been blown up in Havana Harbor war might have been avoided. The *Maine* was destroyed on February 15, 1898, and it was not until April 25th that the resolution which meant war was passed. But the feeling had been growing more and more intense as fresh stories of Spanish atrocities against the Cubans were told. The destruction of the *Maine* made war inevitable, and the Government began preparations for the conflict.

The activity of William J. Bryan about that time was quite significant and, in view of his stand afterwards for peace, is well worth recalling. While the struggle between the Administration and the conservative element on one side, with the Democrats and the insurgent Republicans on the other, was at its height Mr. Bryan went to Washington to attend one of the many Jefferson banquets which occur in that city. His speech had more reference to free silver and the Chicago platform than anything else, but he did talk about Cuba, and waved a Cuban flag amidst the greatest enthusiasm. He asserted that the independence of Cuba should be recognized and that the United States should intervene. This, of course, meant war. Everybody knew it meant war, and this was at a time when the national adminis-

tration was bending every effort to secure an adjustment by peaceful means. But Mr. Bryan lived up to his profession. When war came he went out at the head of the 3rd Nebraska regiment and was as ready to do his duty as any other man. He was sent forward with the regiment to a southern camp, and if Spain had not yielded after the blows by land and sea at Santiago, he might have made a military reputation as did the man who was his rival in the public eye for twenty years.

The speech which Bryan made at the banquet was alluded to in the debates in the Senate. One Democratic senator said that the voice of Mr. Bryan was the command of six million Democrats who had voted for him in 1896, which caused Senator Hale to remark, sarcastically, that he had noticed that the Democrats took their orders from their lately defeated candidate.

An interesting feature of the proceedings in Congress before the war resolution passed was the manner in which Speaker Reed stood up for the policies of the President who had defeated him for the grand prize two years before. Reed had a distinct repugnance to expansion, particularly in the tropics. He saw no use in taking over any of the islands of the sea, and was strongly opposed to the acquisition of Hawaii, which had been a topic of discussion for many years.

It was before the Spanish war that Mr. Reed and Joe Chamberlain, then the big man of England, had an interesting conversation in London.

"Why don't you get into the Eastern game?" asked

Chamberlain. "That is going to be the great theatre of the nations in the future."

Reed told him that as a citizen of the United States he believed that our power lay in holding to our present territorial limits. After the Spanish war, when expansion had worked its will and we had the Philippines, Porto Rico, a protectorate over Cuba, and had annexed Hawaii, with all the manifold cares and responsibilities which these new possessions added to the country, Reed referred to his conversation with Chamberlain, saying:

"I can imagine the sardonic grin on old Joe's face as he contemplates our present situation."

There was a bitter contest over the preliminary resolution which declared the people of Cuba independent and paved the way for war. Like the resolution which preceded the war with Germany, it was evasive in its terms. It contained a provision known as the Teller amendment, because it was presented by the Colorado Senator, which declared the United States disclaimed any purpose of exercising "sovereignty, jurisdiction or control" over Cuba. That provision returned to plague this government, and has always stood in the way of annexation of the island by the United States. However, under the Platt Amendment, which the Cubans were forced to accept after the war, the United States exercises jurisdiction and control over Cuba in a very great degree. The resolution contained another provision which caused a protracted contest between the Senate and House. It was the

declaration that "the people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent." The conservative element fought long to have the words "are, and" eliminated, but finally yielded, because it was feared that a straight declaration of Cuban independence and recognition of the Cuban Government as it then existed might be put through Congress by the impatient members who were becoming more and more aroused against Spain. In such an event the immense issue of Cuban bonds then in existence would have become valuable instead of waste paper.

It was not long after the war resolution was passed that the declaration of war was made, and then followed legislation to provide an army. Having entered upon war Congress found it necessary to make provision for men, supplies, ammunition and other things which are required in war. Blithely the Congress went forward and declared "that the Cuban people are, and of right ought to be, free and independent," and it then became necessary to prove it by the armed force of the United States, and to create that armed force, for the United States had nothing ready save the naval vessels, and they were not in thorough condition.

Among the things necessary to be done was to provide money, as it was found that this country could not embark gaily upon even a little war with a decaying and bankrupt nation without paying several hundred millions for the experience. A war revenue bill was passed, a bill which made everybody pay their share to make Cuba free and let the people know that war costs

money. In that bill was a bond provision which was strenuously objected to by the Democrats, but having voted for a war they had to vote supplies, or at least they did not dare hold up a bill providing revenue for the war, and so it went through, though it contained language directly contrary to their party declarations two years before. It was Senator Pettigrew who had said that he wanted war in order to put this country on a silver basis. I remember meeting Jonathan P. Dolliver, at that time a member of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House, just after an agreement had been reached in committee on the war revenue bill, and he remarked:

"One thing we have done more important than all others. We have written into that bill provisions which fix the gold standard firmly upon this country for the next fifty years."

And so there was no possibility of going to a silver basis as a result of the war with Spain. But neither the ultra silver men nor the Democrats, who had been most vociferous for war, secured any benefits out of it. The war really made possible the Republican victory in the fall of 1898, and gave Mark Hanna a stronger grip on the country than he theretofore had.

The mistakes and waste of the Spanish War caused a great deal of criticism for several years, and would be of some consequence if the expenditures of that time had not become of puny insignificance in comparison with the waste and extravagance in the war twenty years later. From the very beginning politics cut a

leading part in the war. The appointments of generals and many other officers were due to influence rather than to merit or fitness. President McKinley made no distinction between Republicans and Democrats or the North and the South, and many men who wore the gray during the Civil War appeared in the blue uniform of the United States army. One of these southerners was General Joe Wheeler, a member of Congress from Alabama. When he appeared with the twin stars of a major general on his shoulders, he joyously exclaimed:

"It is worth fifteen years of life to die on a battlefield."

"That's the trouble about appointing a man like Joe Wheeler to such an important command," remarked Major John M. Carson, a newspaper correspondent and veteran of the Civil War. "He will have twenty thousand men under him who do not share his opinion, and they will not care to lose fifteen years of their lives to give Joe Wheeler a glorious death."

In the appointment of staff officers the sons and relatives of men in public and business life were liberally remembered. When the confirmation of these officers was under consideration Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota asked if the Committee on Military Affairs had examined into the military qualifications of these young men and could recommend them for the Army.

"The Committee on Military Affairs," brusquely replied General Hawley, the chairman, "has made a sufficient examination to show that all these men are backed by ample recommendations on the part of

their fathers in the Senate and House, and by influential men elsewhere, to secure their appointments."

"That seems to be sufficient," remarked Pettigrew.

One day when a number of these newly made Army officers, in their glittering new uniforms, were in the galleries of the House listening to the debate on an Army bill, James Hamilton Lewis of Washington State delivered himself of the following:

"Mr. Speaker, I am not opposing the organization of the Army. I am for the organization of the Army, but I want the organization to be of soldiers. I am opposing and shall continue to oppose any reorganization of the Army by tessellated military satraps on the one hand and gilded society sapheads on the other."

It was not long after that Congressman Lewis, transformed into Lieutenant Colonel Lewis of the Washington State militia, was seen in the streets of the National Capital in a uniform as resplendent as that of any other "tessellated military satrap" or "gilded society saphead."

More than one hundred thousand unnecessary troops were assembled in the camps for the Spanish war. They were not needed at the time they were brought from their states, and it would have been better to have had them kept at home and drilled for a time. As these troops were useless, little attention was given to making soldiers of them. They were the political soldiers of the war and allowed to run around and do pretty much as they pleased. With little or no occupation and without hope of service, they deteriorated as men will under

such conditions, and disease made great inroads upon them.

The greatest blunder of the Spanish war, almost criminal in its effect, was the political pull which used the longest possible railroad haul for sending soldiers and supplies to tide water when destined for Cuba. The troops were to sail from Tampa, Florida, because it was the most available point of embarkation near to Cuba. Why in the name of commonsense places like New Orleans, Savannah, Charleston, Hampton Roads and New York should not have been chosen is beyond the comprehension of everybody save those who knew why the faraway point was selected.

And what a mix-up there was down at Tampa! A single-track railroad leading to that place and train loads of troops and supplies concentrating from every section of the country upon it. There were thirteen miles of this single track without turnouts or switches occupied by cars loaded with soldiers, supplies and equipment. Troops disembarked in swamps and supplies were tumbled out of cars down embankments. Fresh beef became fly-blown and spoiled because ice to keep it cool was melting away somewhere up the track. Soldiers were compelled to break into cars to get tents and equipage and food. What they did not want was left piled on the ground beside the railroad or was thrown into the bushes. Men straggled into camp the best way they could; quartermasters struggled with inadequate terminal facilities; commissaries sought in vain for the food trains from which they might supply the hungry

troops; medical officers tried to locate their supplies so that they might be equipped for the expedition to Cuba. It should be remembered that the troops and equipments were not for a camp that might be supplied from time to time, but for an army that was going abroad in ships for a long military expedition against a foreign foe.

The utter lack of comprehension as to the magnitude of the job on hand was responsible for the mixed conditions at Tampa.

"Ship twenty cars of beef to Tampa."

"Have your regiment entrain at once for Tampa."

"Ship clothing, tentage, etc., to Tampa."

"Send ten carloads of ice daily to Tampa."

"Send medical supplies as per schedule to Tampa."

"Have guns, ammunition and other ordnance supplies shipped at once to Tampa."

Hundreds of similar orders were sent out from the War Department. Of course, there were congestion and confusion which caused widespread criticism.

There was favoritism in sending state regiments aboard transports for Cuba. Regular army regiments were held back in order to give state regiments an opportunity to go on the first expedition.

It was a short war, and although there were many mistakes, largely due to lack of preparation, and criticism ran so high as to force Secretary Alger from the War Department, the net result was success. General Corbin, who shared with others much of the criticism, made no public defense, but in a private conversation he once remarked:

"We went to war for a purpose. We accomplished that purpose in less than one hundred days. For my part I am willing to let that record of achievement answer all critics."

When the war was really over, by reason of the destruction of the Spanish ships at Manila, the destruction of the Spanish squadron off Santiago and the capture of that place, the pressure by troops in the United States for something like real service was too strong to be resisted. Senators and Representatives, governors and militia officers, showered telegrams and personal requests upon the War Department to have troops given actual service.

So began a brisk movement to Porto Rico. All possible transports were gathered and more ships were bought. A regiment from a state here and a state there was hurried to the seashore and embarked on the ships bound for Porto Rico. General Corbin took full charge and his orders were given with promptness and determination. "We have got to get those fellows afloat and on their way to Porto Rico," he said, "before we get orders to halt hostilities. They've got to see service of some kind, or at least get a glimpse of foreign lands, and Porto Rico is our last chance. They have got to get off before we get notice of an armistice."

And so, quietly, but with greatest expedition, various regiments were hurried aboard transports and sent to Porto Rico, which proved a better picnic than Cuba, for they had a very good sea voyage, a pleasant island, little fighting, and no yellow fever.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE MAN OF THE HOUR

Elihu Root Takes Charge of the War Department and the Problems Growing Out of the Spanish War—His Relations with Generals Miles and Corbin—Makes Laws for the New Possessions.

THE retirement of Secretary Alger was pathetic. He did not know he was going to resign until some time after McKinley had decided that he must go. McKinley was too kind-hearted and too suave to tell his Secretary of War that he ought to resign. The delicate duty was delegated to Vice President Hobart. There always has been more or less of a mystery as to just what valuable use can be made of a Vice President, but in those days it was found that a willing Vice President could bear unpleasant messages. On a train from New York to Washington one day Hobart told Alger that he ought to resign and save the Administration embarrassment. And with a broken heart the Secretary tendered his resignation to McKinley. He was the victim of a war and a system for which he was in no wise responsible.

The friction between the Secretary of War and the Major General commanding had reached an acute stage. Neither Alger nor Miles saw each other, though they had to have official communication with each other

at times. The business was transacted through subordinates. Just before he went out of office Alger issued an order taking from "the Major General Commanding the Army" command of the Inspector General's and Adjutant General's departments. They were assigned to duty under the Secretary of War. That was his last official act.

Then came Root as Secretary of War. He shared an opinion which existed all over the country that Alger and Adjutant General Corbin were leagued together against General Miles. It was true to the extent that Corbin knew that Alger was for all practical purposes the commander-in-chief, that he represented the President, and Corbin stood by the highest authority. Mr. Root carefully felt his way in his new surroundings. He knew that a number of regiments had been authorized and must be organized to put down the insurrection in the Philippines.

When General Miles made his first call upon the new Secretary, Mr. Root expressed the hope that he would have his assistance in organizing the new regiments.

"Certainly," replied Miles, "but there is an important matter I want to take up with you at an early day. Your predecessor issued an order placing the Inspector General and the Adjutant General under the Secretary of War and taking them from my staff. These officers always have been staff officers of the commanding general. It is an injustice which I expect you will right."

Root promised to give the matter his attention as

early as possible. Meanwhile he busied himself for a few days with other matters in the War Department. Corbin was foxy. He did not go near the Secretary unless he was sent for. Root's private secretary, or some other person, when asked about something connected with the War Department, would reply:

"General Corbin knows about that."

And when Root asked Corbin he found that he did know about it, and everything else pertaining to the business in hand. It was not long before Miles again visited the Secretary, and Root asked him about plans for the new regiments.

"I am having a general plan prepared and will submit it to you in a few days. What I wanted now was to ask if you have taken up that matter of the Inspector General and Adjutant General taken from my command by your predecessor."

Root had not thought of it since, but he promised to give it his attention very soon. After Miles left, Root sent for Corbin.

"General," he said, "General Miles seems much disturbed about an order issued by Mr. Alger just before he left office. As it pertains to your official position I desire to ask you about it before taking any action. Can you explain the matter? It seems somewhat technical and military from what General Miles says, and I do not quite understand its ramifications."

"It never should have been issued," bluntly replied Corbin, "and it should be revoked. I was sorry Secretary Alger did it, and if I had known of it I should

have advised against it. The Adjutant General, the Inspector General, and every other officer in the Army is under the Secretary of War and subject to his orders as long as he acts for the President. It makes no difference whether these officers are technically under the major general commanding or not. It's a mere form."

An order of revocation was immediately signed by Root and sent to Miles. A few days later Miles appeared with his plan of new regiments, providing for every officer to be appointed, and including two regiments of colored troops to be officered by colored men. Root was not then the politician he afterwards became, but he saw at once that the Miles plan would have to be modified. For a long time he worked alone on the proposed organization. Then he began to call upon Corbin for information as to this officer or that in the regular service, or the records of officers who had served in the state troops and who were being urged by Senators and Representatives for commissions in the new regiments. He found that Corbin had everything ready. The files of the Adjutant General's office were well kept; the clerks liked Corbin and he had an efficient corps of assistants.

The ultimate result was that for a day or two and late into the night Root and Corbin went over papers, records, political endorsements, and everything else pertaining to the regiments, and Root found himself possessed not only of information, but also of an able assistant, one who was not afraid to work, and who was

as careless as to hours as himself. He began to appreciate Corbin and like him.

Soon the regiments were organized, officers selected, recruits were enlisted, and all were made ready to be sent to the Philippines. The War Department had become a department of war business. As far as possible everything was carried on in a military manner. There was politics and pull, of course; that was inevitable. As in Spanish war days men came over with little cards on which was written:

"See what you can do for bearer; what he wants, if possible.—W. McK."

Well, what would you have done? Every mother's son would have done what the President requested. So did Root and so did Corbin, just as Alger and Corbin had done in the early days of the war.

Sending troops and supplies to the Philippines raised a clamor in which every politician from the Pacific Coast took part. San Francisco was, of course, the most available point of shipment for men and supplies. But that did not satisfy Portland, Seattle and Tacoma. The Columbia River and Puget Sound ports had to have their share of the shipments. Think of what a trifling matter it was! The troops were at the ports a few weeks or days and spent their money; the merchants sold supplies and received a certain amount of money. The places became known as ports for the Philippines. At San Francisco was a large military station, plenty of land and quarters, warehouses and everything handy for sending men and munitions and supplies to the

Philippines. But the business men of the northern ports made their Senators and Representatives fight for a share of the traffic. And how those Senators and members did fight! What is more, they got results. If the War Department had refused they would have gone to McKinley, and in some instances they did.

"The difference in cost and in time is not worth making those delegations sore," Corbin told Root. "We shall want their help in Congress when we are trying to get something for the Army."

And right there is something to think about in regard to Army legislation. It has some elements of give and take. The master politician in the Army is always making friends, and they are on hand when needed. There ought not to be politics in a great military organization which is supported for the sole purpose of defending the country and upholding its honor and the flag, but if you go through the darkest hours of the country's history you will find that always some are working the political end of the game and others working the financial end without regard to the peril of the nation.

Henry C. Corbin was the most important officer and did more to make the war with Spain a success than any other one man. He was one of the most efficient men that ever held the position of Adjutant General. He transacted more business than any other man. And while he transacted this business there was never any guard at his door; no card of admission was necessary; no messenger barred the way to his office. He sat

right in front of the door meeting every one who had any business with him. I have seen Justices of the Supreme Court, Senators, Representatives, general and staff officers, newspapermen, strangers, private soldiers, in his office at the same time, coming and going. Sometimes there would be a dozen or more at a time, high and low, rich and poor, and everybody would get a hearing. Once I saw high officials wait while Corbin went to a private soldier on crutches—he had lost a leg at Santiago—and ascertain his wants before Senators and officers were served. He found the man wanted to go to the Soldiers' Home, and he made arrangements to have him sent there before other men's affairs were considered.

General Corbin's integrity as an officer was unquestioned. Like all forceful people he made enemies, but he could not be accused of dishonesty. He occupied a position in which he had an opportunity to make money, but he was not lured into anything in which there could be a question as to his honor as an officer. Once a man offered to carry him for an investment in several thousand shares of a stock that would net him large profits. Corbin declined the offer.

"There is one man I must live with," he told me, "and I intend he shall be honest; that he will not feel ashamed to look me in the face in the morning or afraid to sleep with me at night. I need more money as much as any man in my position could, but I'm not going to try to make it by any such means as offered in this case. You never can tell what demands might follow a favor of that kind."

Corbin was the kind of man who does things. He never allowed business to accumulate. Those matters which were for him to decide he decided instantly. "Action is necessary; we can't spend time figuring how these things should be done; we must do them or order others to do them." Thus he spoke one day, adding that, of course, he made mistakes, but that it was better to make mistakes than to have business clog the wheels. A man like that naturally became extremely valuable to the Secretary of War and the President. Being a born politician and knowing politicians, he was able to see that the war would be carried along on political lines and not on strict military lines.

There was no politics in the selection of Elihu Root as Secretary of War to succeed Secretary Alger. It was not a popular political appointment, as Root was not much of a politician. It was very fortunate for McKinley that he was able to secure such a man as Root for that particular place at the time. The problems of the Spanish war were weighing heavily upon the Administration. Spain had been driven out of Cuba and we had completed all that we declared in the war resolution. Had we been true to that declaration, our troops would have evacuated Cuba and left her free, but it would have meant chaos in the island. While the administration of Cuba was difficult, it was not so complicated as in the Philippines, where an insurrection had to be suppressed and a government established. A man for the task was needed by the American Government and he was found.

Elihu Root was at first regarded as a cold-blooded New York lawyer, exclusive in his tastes, distrustful and reticent. His experience with newspaper men had not been such as to commend them to him. He never had considered publicity as a necessity in business affairs, and he was inclined to consider government on the same basis as business. The impression prevailed generally long after he was Secretary of War that he was cold and austere; a highly efficient mental machine. In after years those who were privileged to know him well learned to appreciate his great ability, which was coupled with a keen sense of humor.

Mr. Root modified his idea of newspaper men after his experience in Washington. One day at a luncheon given to Army officers, Senators and Representatives, and newspaper correspondents who were all his personal friends, he spoke of the press in a strain most surprising. "The newspapers are very valuable to any administration," he said. "Criticism is wholesome. If it is deserved, it is right; if undeserved, the officials criticized can well afford to wait to be vindicated by time. But comments and criticisms in the press are valuable in pointing out what might be a false step and showing the trend of thought and ideas of the people. I have often been saved from doing something that would have been unwise by criticism of the act before it was performed and while in contemplation. Criticisms, even when they are wrong and unjust, are helpful, for they show one that he is right and give him information which aids him in continuing his policy."

Secretary Root was a believer in picked men. He never hesitated about going down among the captains and majors to get general officers if he thought they would make the best officers. In pursuance of this idea a captain, John J. Pershing, was jumped over 1200 officers and made a brigadier general.

It was during Root's term as Secretary of War that Charles E. Magoon earned his title of "Judge." Magoon was law officer of the bureau of insular affairs, and Root requested an opinion upon the rights of the United States in the islands acquired from Spain. Magoon wrote an opinion and Root thought it was a good one, but it was not on the side he wanted. It limited the power of the United States too much to suit the purpose Root had in mind. Magoon wrote another opinion, better than the first, and showed that the United States had ample power in dealing with and governing the new possessions. It is an interesting fact that in the five-to-four opinions of the Supreme Court in the insular cases the minority followed closely the first opinion of Magoon, and the majority the second opinion of the same authority.

Governing the Philippines by one man power was the task which came to Root when the insurrection was partially subdued. It was about that time that McKinley took William H. Taft from the bench, an occupation he liked, and sent him as Governor-General of the Philippines, a work which he did not want. One of the great state papers of that time was McKinley's letter of instruction to the Philippine Commission.

Secretary Root gave it his most careful attention in preparation. He has written many papers of importance, but none equal to that, the time and circumstances considered. That letter of instructions contained the germ of all future government and advancement of the Philippines as well as suggestions for future legislation.

The power of the Secretary of War in the new possessions was unlimited. His brief cable was law; his verbal utterance to an Army officer about to take charge of a province or an island was as binding as a sealed and signed decree. Through the governors-general or the military commanders the Secretary was the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary for the millions of people in the Philippines and in Cuba.

"I am getting used to it now," remarked Secretary Root one day, as he signed a very important cable message which related to the Philippines, "but at first it rather shocked my ideas of legal and orderly procedure to legislate for millions of people, by an executive order. Now I can sign my name to a decree which makes laws for ten millions of people without the slightest tremor."

Root was still Secretary when the famous insular cases were decided by the Supreme Court. The legislation had caused a very great deal of discussion about extension of the laws of the United States over the islands. The burning question was whether the Constitution followed the flag *ex proprio vigore*, as the lawyers put it. Secretary Root was in court and

listened to the decisions when rendered. He went to the War Department soon after, and was followed by a score of newspaper men who were trying to find out what the decision meant.

"What we want to know, Mr. Secretary," said a spokesman, "is whether the Constitution follows the flag."

"Ye-es," replied the Secretary, in the halting speech which made his wit so effective; "as near as I can make out the Constitution follows the flag—but doesn't quite catch up with it."

And that was so true.

"He has no more idea of time than an Indian," said General Corbin, of the Secretary, who never knew when the luncheon hour arrived, and when interested in a piece of work would not think of dinner until perhaps eight or nine o'clock at night.

Before Root's retirement as Secretary of War President Roosevelt paid him the highest kind of compliment. "I have," he said, "in John Hay the best Secretary of State; and I have in Knox the best Attorney General. But Mr. Root could fill both of these positions with the same success he has achieved as Secretary of War."

Mr. Root is oftentimes described as the greatest intellect of his time. I fully agree with that view. He is the greatest man I have known in the period of which I write. There have been some very brainy men in public life in that time, men of great sagacity and patriotism, but none who was the equal of Elihu

Root as a statesman and profound student of public affairs.

There was nothing childish or petty about Mr. Root. He never exhibited jealousy of his fellow men, nor did he ever descend to spite work. He totally lacked those petty traits that often mar the characters of our greatest statesmen. He had a command of language and could shatter an opponent with logic, but never with malice. His humor was delicious, and the delicate manner in which he could turn a point against an adversary was charming.

An interesting figure of the Spanish war was Colonel John F. Weston, later a major general. He was chief commissary of the expedition to Cuba. Weston was one of the most popular officers that ever wore the uniform. En route to Cuba a pair of white duck trousers belonging to Weston fell into the hands of the artists and cartoonists who accompanied the expedition to Santiago. They decorated these trousers with cock-fights, lions' heads, bears, and other beasts, as well as birds and flowers. There was little of the original surface which did not show the interest and liking of the artists for Jack Weston.

One day Weston had been working hard all day getting supplies from one of the transport ships to the shore. Late in the evening he returned to the ship in a boat. A considerable sea was running and it was with some difficulty that the boat was brought up to the gangway so that Weston could go aboard. The civilian captain of the ship looked over the side and shouted in a sarcastic tone:

"What's the matter with you? Do you want me to come down and carry you aboard?"

"I'll save you that trouble," replied Weston, in a tone which meant business.

In a moment he came overside wearing the illustrated duck trousers. As he reached the deck he tossed off the jacket which bore the eagles of his rank, and danced over to the captain of the ship. There was no man of that time in the army as light upon his feet or as handy with boxing gloves as Colonel Weston. There was nothing he liked better than a go with the gloves.

"I want to show you that I did not need your assistance," said Weston, as he came within reach of the captain, and he landed a left and right, one on the jaw and the other on the neck, which sent the civilian seaman to his deck. When he groggily regained his feet Weston was dancing around him saying:

"If you think I am not able to care for myself, come on."

But the captain had enough.

"Jack Weston!" shouted bluff Captain Wise of the Navy, who happened to be aboard and saw the encounter, "with your beasts, birds and reptiles, just as you are, you suit me. Come to my room and let's celebrate."

The Philippine insurrection developed a man, General Elwell S. Otis. I know that members of my own profession disliked and wrote against him, but the censorship he observed and the rigid rules he made were as nothing compared to the severity against the press

in the Japanese-Russian war and in the great war in Europe. It seems a pity that the most efficient officer of the Spanish war and Philippine insurrection could not have had as much honor as half a dozen others who became lieutenant generals. The whole country owes a debt of gratitude to General Otis for eliminating graft in connection with the occupation, and instituting government on such a high plane that no one has departed from it, save in a few unimportant and isolated cases.

The name of Elwell S. Otis should be honored because he preserved the honor of America in a far off country and added luster to the name of the American soldier. Living up to Otis has been the ambition of every officer who has since set foot in the Philippines. In that tropical land of to-morrow, of careless custom and ease; the land touched by the sun of the Orient in which trickery, knavery and all forms of mental distemper thrive; where every man had been accustomed to pay the bribe to every official; in such a land it is not an easy task to keep a great military and civil government free from corruption and graft. He was called fussy and devoted to details, but a part of the fuss and devotion to details was to preserve the honor and integrity of the American nation and of the Army in its administration of a far distant possession.

CHAPTER XXIV

ROOSEVELT IN THE WAR

Most Active and Picturesque Personage in the Clash with Spain—"Saddled on John D. Long"—Carries Out Design to Be in First Fight—Free with Advice to Superiors—Spanish War Makes Republican Success Possible—Roosevelt Elected Governor of New York—Funston Kept in the Army—Dewey the Naval Hero, but the Presidency is Not for a Navy Man—How Leonard Wood Became a Brigadier General—"A Bell That Rings Every Day" Made Another.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT wanted war from the very beginning. When he came to Washington as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he was still the junior member of the firm of Lodge and Roosevelt. The then senior member had a reputation as a twister of the lion's tail, and particularly had he been insistent upon doing something for Cuba during the Cleveland administration. Lodge was of a practical mind and could give expression to his energies in the direction of free Cuba in speeches. Roosevelt wanted action and wanted it without delay.

"This is going to be a short war," he confided to a friend, when it was known that war was sure to come. "I am going into it and get all there is out of it. Because it will be so short only a few men will be able to gain any military reputation. I am going with the first expedition, which will probably be the last. I am going

to get ashore with my troops, get into the first fight, and keep going until it is over."

At that time he outlined his definite plan of a regiment of rough riders to be commanded by his personal friend the White House physician, and while he would be lieutenant colonel and second in command, he knew he would be the important personage in the regiment. Before the hostilities began this sounded like the boasting of a man who let his imagination run away with his discretion, but Theodore Roosevelt knew what he was saying.

As Assistant Secretary of the Navy he was a thorn in the side of the Administration. In fact it was the rôle of Roosevelt to be troublesome to all administrations. As Civil Service Commissioner he kept Harrison in hot water over the prosecution of Republican officials who violated the law, and the same was true during Cleveland's administration, although Cleveland did not care so much about the prosecutions as he did about the rows in the commission and the notoriety it caused. As Police Commissioner of New York, Roosevelt stirred up things so energetically as to create a desire among politicians to get rid of him. Senator Platt wanted Roosevelt out of New York and Senator Lodge was anxious to have his friend given a place in the new administration. The amiable President was willing to gratify Platt and Lodge, and Roosevelt was "saddled on John D. Long," as some one remarked, Mr. Long being the most easy going member of the Cabinet. It turned out that Roosevelt

was able to stir up more trouble as Assistant Secretary than in any other position, for he was bound to get the Navy into some sort of readiness for emergencies. Besides, he never hesitated to take responsibility.

It was during the early stages of his service in the Navy Department that he renewed intimate acquaintance with Leonard Wood, a surgeon in the Army with the rank of captain, who was the physician attending Mrs. McKinley, and who had the esteem and confidence of the President. At the time the firm of Wood and Roosevelt was formed Roosevelt was again a junior member, but the time came when he was senior in all partnerships.

At the White House Roosevelt was considered something of a joke, but why is not clear. Here was a young man who had been in public life since 1880, had been a factor in the Blaine campaign of 1884, a delegate to national conventions, eight years Civil Service Commissioner, Police Commissioner in New York, an author of some note, and vigorous physically and intellectually. One day when the war was in sight there was a Cabinet meeting. During its progress a dispatch of importance was received at the Navy Department and Roosevelt thought it should be given to the President. He took it over and awaited instructions as to the reply. Secretary Cortelyou took the message into the Cabinet room and told the President that Mr. Roosevelt had brought it over.

"Where is he?" asked the President.

"Down stairs," replied Cortelyou.

"Shall we have him up and have a little fun with him?" asked McKinley, turning to members of the Cabinet.

Of course there was unanimous assent.

"Mr. Roosevelt," said the President, when the Assistant Secretary entered, "this dispatch corroborates other information we have that a fleet of Spanish ships has sailed from Spain, probably to make an attack upon our coast. What would you advise under the circumstances?"

"I would send out a fleet and smash them!" said Roosevelt, displaying his teeth.

And then McKinley and his wise men discovered that this was not an individual to have fun with over a grave question.

The energy of Roosevelt at that time was unbounded. He was writing his history of the *Winning of the West* and doing other literary work. He was interesting himself in putting the Navy into readiness for war. He was organizing and equipping the Rough Riders. And, by the way, from the very beginning this was known as Roosevelt's regiment. It was always so designated, sometimes with the explanatory remark that Wood was the colonel. Roosevelt was taking a hand also in the selection of officers for various commands in the Navy. He had much to do with making Captain Sampson Acting Rear Admiral and giving him command of the Atlantic fleet.

When Roosevelt relinquished his place as Assistant Secretary of the Navy there was a sigh of relief in

Administration circles, but he never allowed the officials much rest. He knew a great deal about what was going on, and he soon detected the fact that the expedition to Santiago would be the first of the Army operations. With the coöperation of Colonel Wood he pushed his regiment forward so that it might go with the first ships that sailed. How they took possession of a ship which had been assigned to a regular regiment is a matter of history, as is also the manner in which the First Volunteer Cavalry was disembarked and participated in the first fight with the Spaniards, just as Roosevelt had intended from the beginning.

He did not escape without criticism in military circles and elsewhere, but the Administration never felt that it was good policy to bring under strict military discipline a man who was doing things, who was pushing to the front in a war for which there had been such a clamor in the country. Considerable fun was made of Roosevelt on account of the literary men who accompanied him and exploited him in the newspapers and magazines they represented, but the most severe criticism published was that in a little book by Burr McIntosh, the actor, entitled *The Little I Saw of Cuba.* He was among those who landed with the first military expedition, and he said that the fight at Las Guasimas was unnecessary, further intimating that the Rough Riders, in disobedience of orders as to their position, pushed forward and were ambushed by the Spaniards.

By the way, they were not riders in Cuba. The

cavalry, although there was a cavalry division, had no mounts because there were no ships available to transport horses.

But suppose Roosevelt's activities were open to military criticism—and many critics were found in military circles—the country did not care so long as he was doing something. The man who is accomplishing results; defeating the enemy; risking life and limb for country; is energetic, pushing and earnest, will win the plaudits of the public.

One thing stands out with remarkable clearness. Theodore Roosevelt showed in the choice of the colonel of his regiment that wonderful judgment of human nature that so often worked to his advantage. Colonel Wood was a man of intelligence and pleasing personality. He was a particular favorite with President McKinley. Although the regiment was known as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders" it was listed as the First U. S. Volunteer Cavalry, Leonard Wood commanding, and anything that the President's favorite wanted was sure to be granted by the War Department. Generals and other superior officers were not going to make official criticism of a regiment commanded by the President's personal friend. All requisitions for the Rough Riders ran in the name of Colonel Wood. All orders moving the regiment, such as taking possession of the transport, disembarking, and the movement resulting in the battle at Las Guasimas, were issued by Colonel Wood. But in the public mind and in the press reports Wood was less known. Everybody

seemed to think that Roosevelt was the moving spirit in the Rough Riders.

In this connection is the incident of the "Round Robin" protesting against the keeping of troops at Santiago where they were sick and dying with fever. It is generally supposed that Roosevelt inspired the document. He was the only colonel to sign it, and he was the junior of many others in the Army. He had become colonel by the promotion of Wood to be a brigadier general of volunteers, a promotion that showed that McKinley kept his friend in mind when passing out honors after the Santiago campaign. In other countries, and even in the Civil War days, that "Round Robin" would have resulted in courts martial, but not in the happy-go-lucky days of the Spanish war.

There happened at Santiago, in connection with the Rough Riders, another incident which had an echo in after days when Roosevelt was President. As colonel of the regiment, Roosevelt made an effort to get something from the quartermaster's department. Colonel Charles F. Humphrey was chief quartermaster of the Cuban expedition. He was a positive character, business all the way through, without much use for volunteers, and he turned down Roosevelt in a manner both vigorous and extreme.

"If I had been Roosevelt," said an officer who was of equal rank with Humphrey, and who witnessed the affair, "I would have punched Charlie Humphrey's head so far back on his shoulders that it wouldn't have come forward in a week. Roosevelt looked for a

moment as if he would do it, but his better judgment prevailed and he went away."

Roosevelt knew better than to make a scene and create a row when the technicalities, at least, would all have been on the side of the chief quartermaster.

Humphrey came up for promotion as head of the quartermaster's department when Roosevelt was President. It was the most bitter pill he had to swallow during his term. All the possible political influence in the country was brought to bear on the President, and Humphrey had the best pull in the Army at that time, with the exception of General Ainsworth, and Ainsworth was pulling for him.

When Roosevelt decided to appoint Humphrey he gave me this explanation of his position:

"I am not going to allow people to say that I have refused to promote a good officer on account of my personal feeling, although his conduct towards me in Cuba was sufficient to warrant me in refusing to promote him. If it had been another officer in my place at that time, I would never sign his commission."

Colonel Roosevelt when in Cuba did not hesitate to give the War Department advice. It was this newly made colonel who wrote the Department, when preparations were being made for the Porto Rican expedition, asking that the cavalry division, including the Rough Riders, be sent from Santiago to Porto Rico, adding that this force of four thousand men "would be worth easily any ten thousand national guardsmen

armed with black powder Springfields and other archaic weapons."

As the "Round Robin" had been made public, and also an independent letter of Roosevelt to Shafter, freely tendering the commanding general advice as to what should be done, Secretary Alger made public the following cable reply which he sent:

"Your letter is received. The regular army, the volunteer army, and the Rough Riders have done well, but I suggest that, unless you want to spoil the effects and glory of your victory, you make no invidious comparisons. The Rough Riders are no better than any other volunteers. They had an advantage in their arms, for which they should be very grateful."

As Roosevelt had been responsible for the "advantage in their arms," that part of the sharp rebuke did not apply to him. He smarted under it, but said nothing. Years after when he was President he had to face the question of whether he would punish General Corbin for that sharp cable, for it was supposed that Corbin wrote it. If he had been certain that Corbin was responsible, it is very doubtful whether he would have appointed him a lieutenant general. But McKinley had promised Corbin that promotion and Roosevelt carried out many such promises of his predecessor.

One effect of the Spanish war was to insure Republican success in the election of 1898. It has been a political proverb that a party in power which passes a tariff bill is doomed to defeat at the ensuing election. But the prediction of James Hamilton Lewis came true.

The war saved the Republicans from defeat after they had passed their tariff of 1897. It was in vain that Champ Clark declared, "It is our war. We had to take you Republicans by the scruff of the neck and drag you into it."

The people would not believe Champ or anyone else. It was the Republicans' war, because they were in control of the Government.

Most important of all "gunpowder men" in 1898 was Theodore Roosevelt. His dramatic war record of a few months made him Governor of New York, and that was a stepping stone to future advancement. I remember, when the returns were coming into Washington on the night of the election, sitting with L. Q. C. Washington, a veteran newspaper man and dyed-in-the-wool Democrat.

"Gunpowder man," he sniffed, when the returns indicated that Roosevelt would be elected by a small majority. And Washington knew, for he had experience in politics following the Civil War.

At a later hour it was announced that John Lind, a Democrat, had been elected Governor of Republican Minnesota. "Another gunpowder man," said Washington, and it did appear upon looking up the Minnesota record that Lind had served as a quartermaster in one of the Minnesota regiments that was in camp in one of the southern states. But it was not Lind's Spanish war record that made him Governor, though it helped. Lind had the race issue with him. He was a Scandinavian, and that race casts more than

one-third of the votes in Minnesota. He had been a Republican before 1896, bolted after the gold plank had been adopted at St. Louis, and after wandering a few months as a silver Republican landed squarely in the Democratic party. At a later period he was trusted with a most important mission in the first Democratic administration which came into power in sixteen years.

Many men who served in the Spanish war were subsequently honored in politics, but not so much on account of their records in that conflict as upon their merits. There was room for only a very few political heroes as a result of that war. The chances were more favorable for military heroes in military life, and promotions were much more attractive than a try in politics.

There was one military hero of the Spanish war, and particularly of the Philippine insurrection, who figured largely in politics and received his reward on account of politics—at least to some extent. Frederick Funston, who went to the Philippines at the head of a Kansas regiment, was soon made a brigadier general of volunteers. It was while holding this position that he captured Aguinaldo and the country rang with the exploit. Then began talk of his reward. The only place for him in the regular army was brigadier general.

"Brigadier general!" roared Corbin when it was brought up to him. "Why, Funston's done a mighty good piece of scouting duty, and if there was a captain's place for him in the regular army he ought to have it, but as to making him brigadier general, why, it's ridiculous."

But Corbin did not know all about politics, especially politics in Kansas. Leaders in the Sunflower state had the situation well arranged, and they bore down on McKinley and Mark Hanna. "If we don't get Funston in the army," was the burden of the story they told, "he will come back into Kansas, and as a hero he'll bust everything that has been fixed up just right. There are going to be two senatorial vacancies pretty soon, and we know just how they are going to be filled. But if Funston comes home they'll make as much of him as they have of Roosevelt in New York, and it'll upset everything."

Of course Hanna saw it, and McKinley saw it, and Corbin had to see it, and it was not very long before he told some one that the way to popularize the regular army was to recognize good volunteer soldiers who had the makings of good officers. His later judgment was correct. Funston proved to be one of the best officers who held a general's commission.

Dewey's victory and long control in Manila Bay made him the most conspicuous figure in the military and naval service, and brought him into the lime-light as a possible Presidential candidate, but there were many obstacles to Dewey's advancement. He was not a politician—almost a fatal defect. He was induced to announce his candidacy, but it fell flat. In the first place, if he had any politics at all, he belonged to the minority party. Bryan controlled that party and had decreed that anti-expansion should be one of the cardinal principles. The greatest card that Dewey

could play was the fact that he had made expansion possible. There was no room for a naval hero of that kind in the Democratic camp. In fact, there was no room for anyone with Presidential aspirations.

McKinley was sure of a second nomination, and seemed to be assured of reëlection. So the one opportunity for the country to reward a naval hero was blocked by the men who had the prestige and political power. And all the honor given Dewey was a grand reception and an ovation when he arrived in the United States.

For the victor or victors of the sea fight at Santiago there was neither an ovation nor a reception. The Sampson-Schley controversy made that impossible. The feud cast a blight upon the Navy.

Richmond P. Hobson was the only naval hero of the Spanish war who realized politically on his daring exploit. It is doubtful that he ever would have been able to represent an Alabama district in Congress if he had not won a great reputation in sinking the *Merrimac* in the mouth of Santiago harbor. It seemed that Hobson and every man who went with him, when they left the fleet were going into the jaws of death. The chances of their escape were very slim indeed. That they came out alive is one of the many wonders of that wonderful war.

Hobson afterwards resigned from the Navy to enter public life and served several terms in Congress. He was particularly conspicuous as the champion of a large Navy and an earnest advocate of prohibition.

The promotion of Leonard Wood, who was a surgeon with the rank of captain, to be a brigadier general, is an interesting episode in Army affairs and occurred during the short session in 1901. Wood was selected to command the Rough Riders at the beginning of the Spanish war. He was not long in Cuba before he was made a brigadier general of volunteers, not only on account of service rendered, but because he was a favorite of President McKinley. When the other officers with their troops hurried away from Santiago on account of the fever, Wood remained in command with troops having already had the fever and consequently immune.

While in command at Santiago, Wood sent reports to the War Department covering every phase of the military situation, and, besides, gave all available information about the climate, crops, resources, inhabitants, and everything else that he could get about the province of Santiago and adjacent territory. When Root came to the War Department he delved into the various reports and found that Wood had learned a lot about Cuba. Later Root had the selection of a governor-general of Cuba and chose Wood. McKinley was glad to promote him to be major general of volunteers and appoint him to the important post.

At Havana Wood repeated what he had done at Santiago. He furnished the Department with complete information about the condition of the island. As commanding general he inaugurated a clean-up campaign, his previous medical training fitting him to supervise that kind of work. A man who did things always

attracted the attention and secured the admiration of Secretary Root.

While Wood was a major general of volunteers and commanding in Cuba a number of vacancies occurred in the grade of brigadier general in the regular army. The names of Leonard Wood, Fred D. Grant and J. Franklin Bell were sent to the Senate by President McKinley. The Senate balked; almost the first and last time when McKinley wanted anything. The military committee would not report the nominations, and Senator Carter was delegated to see the President and tell him the committee had objections to jumping two captains and one civilian over thousands of able and efficient officers.

With the suave manner that distinguished McKinley, with kindly tone and impressive language he showed Carter that Wood must be confirmed. It was necessary, he said, to have an officer of high rank as governor-general of Cuba in order to impress the people who had been used to military men with rank in that position. Wood must soon be mustered out as a volunteer general if he was not confirmed as a brigadier general, and compelled to relinquish his command in Cuba. That would be most unfortunate. He was the right man in the right place. If the Senate refused to confirm him he must retire from Cuba at once, as he could not remain in such a responsible position after being discredited by the Senate. That would be about as great a calamity as could befall the island and very disastrous to the plans which the Ad-

ministration had in view for the settlement of Cuban questions.

Carter reported to the military committee what the President had said, and all three men were confirmed.

The promotion of Bell had more military glory connected with it. Bell went to the Philippines as a staff officer. The same influence which procured him this advancement made him a colonel of one of the volunteer regiments, and this was but a step to a brigadier general of volunteers. In this capacity he had command of a force which was pushing northward in the island of Luzon, fighting little groups of insurrectoes here and there. The signal corps were trying to make a record at that time and kept the telegraph line right up with the troops, and this enabled continuous communication to be maintained with Manila.

Every day a telegram was sent back to Manila saying that Bell had encountered a band of insurrectoes at this or that place and put them to flight with so many killed or wounded. Every day a cable was sent to Washington telling of Bell's achievements and signed by the commanding general, which gave such dispatches an importance. Every day these dispatches were given to the newspaper men in the War Department.

"There's a Bell that rings every day," remarked Secretary Root, after reading one of the dispatches.

And that is the way Frank Bell, a captain, came to be made a brigadier general in the regular army and subsequently as a matter of course became a major general.

As to Grant there was very little opposition. The social influence of Mrs. Grant, the earnest activity of Senator Elkins, and the Grant name were enough to insure his appointment and confirmation.

CHAPTER XXV

THE PHILIPPINES AND CUBA

How President McKinley Was Influenced by Public Opinion to Retain the Islands—The Churches Take a Hand—Business Interests Wanted to End the War—The Treaty Ratified by Great Pressure—Bryan Takes an Important Part in Securing Democratic Votes for Ratification—Cuba Tied to the United States by the Platt Amendment.

THE main reason for the acquisition of the Philippines by the United States was the desire on the part of our people for more territory, a desire that had been growing as the Frontier disappeared and the great West became settled. There was also a desire to own islands in the sea and to have the flag float over distant possessions. The demand for retention of the islands was backed also by Church influence which could not be disregarded.

When President McKinley appointed the commissioners to negotiate peace with Spain he had no idea of taking over the Philippines. We held possession of Manila and Iloilo, the two principal cities and seaports, but there was no actual possession and no necessity for keeping the islands, save that the sentiment of the country so decreed.

After the war, and when the problems it left were pressing upon the government, President McKinley,

feeling his way, found that there was an overwhelming sentiment in favor of having the "flag stay put."

President McKinley went to the exposition at Omaha while the commissioners were negotiating in Paris. He made speeches in which he delicately felt out the sentiment of the people on the subject of the Philippines, as the question of keeping them or holding them was then a topic of discussion. He touched lightly at first upon the flag floating over distant territory, and soon saw that the crowds who listened to him desired to retain the territory where Americans had shed their blood. As he journeyed homeward he stopped at different points and made speeches, and each time spoke more strongly in favor of keeping the flag afloat in lands rightfully taken by our brave soldiers and sailors. The cheers of the crowd grew more vociferous, and when he asked if we should "scuttle," the thunders in the negative seemed to express the will of the people.

"This has been the most unfortunate trip the President ever made," General Corbin remarked in his office one morning as we were scanning the papers. "Have you noticed what he has been saying and how the crowds approve the idea of holding the Philippines? I know McKinley and know that he will be guided by what the people want. He is a better judge of what the people want than any man I know. The sentiment in favor of keeping those islands seems so great that it will determine McKinley's course."

"What about them, anyway?" I asked. "To tell the truth I never heard much about them before this

war, except that I do remember to have heard of Manila hemp."

"I know enough about them to know that we do not want them," replied Corbin. "The best thing Dewey could have done after he destroyed those ships would have been to sail away and come home. But I'm afraid it is too late now."

Corbin was right. President McKinley came back very much impressed with the sentiment of the people in favor of retaining the Islands.

Then began the pressure of the Churches. It may seem strange that the Catholic and Protestant Churches were both anxious to have the Islands taken over by the United States. The Catholic prelates believed that their people would receive better treatment under United States rule than under Spain. They also believed that education would be introduced in the islands, and that was one motive that actuated Archbishop Ireland in favoring acquisition. The Protestants believed there was an excellent opportunity for missionary work in the islands; that there were many heathen there, and that under the government of the United States they could establish missions and do much good work, possibly bringing over many who were nominally Catholics, but who were not satisfied with the manner in which Church affairs had been administered in the islands.

Mark Hanna's influence was secured by the element in business that believed there was a great field for exploitation. They saw opportunities for development

of large properties which might be easily acquired. Possibly there was the old buccaneer spirit in the ideas they had of making use of the Philippines.

All these influences induced the President to instruct the peace commissioners to take over the islands and finally to pay Spain $20,000,000 for them.

There is no more interesting chapter in our history of that period than the manner in which the treaty of peace, the most important feature of which was that of ceding the Philippines to the United States, was put through the Senate. For several weeks there was not the necessary two-thirds majority in the Senate for the ratification of the treaty. It seemed almost impossible to obtain such a majority. Senator Gorman taunted Senator Davis, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and in charge of the treaty, because he would not allow the treaty to come to a vote. Davis was only nominally in charge. Hanna was in actual charge, just as he was in charge of everything in the Senate during McKinley's administration.

There was an element which did not want the Philippines. This was the main cause of opposition to the treaty. With that provision eliminated it is altogether probable that there would have been no opposition to ratification. On a motion to strike out the provision acquiring the Philippines the yeas were thirty and the nays fifty-three, which showed that there was a very strong majority for acquiring the islands. The fear of business generally that a rejection of the treaty might mean reöpening the war brought

tremendous pressure to bear on Senators who were weak-kneed, and there were many of that kind.

"It's an outrage," Senator Gorman remarked to me one day, "the way Hanna and his friends are working this treaty through the Senate. If an honest vote could be taken I doubt whether there is a bare majority for the treaty; but all the railroad influence, which is being worked through Elkins, all the commercial interests, and every other interest which can be reached, are bringing pressure to bear on Senators in the most shameful manner. Some of the things they are doing transcend the bounds of decency."

But they got the votes. Hale of Maine and Hoar of Massachusetts were Republicans who would not support the treaty. Democrats and Populists had to be secured to make up the necessary two-thirds majority. McEnery, a venerable Senator from Louisiana, was corralled by Aldrich, who had worked with him on the sugar schedule in the tariff bill. McEnery was promised the appointment of a United States judge of his choice. McLaurin of South Carolina was won over by being allowed to name postmasters in that state. Kenney of Delaware was squeezed by some sort of a court proceeding in his state and had to vote for the treaty. But even then there were votes which could not have been obtained.

Then a most remarkable thing happened. Colonel William J. Bryan of the Third Nebraska Volunteers came to Washington. He went into the marble room in the rear of the Senate chamber, sent for Democratic

Senators and urged them to vote for the treaty. As the leader of the Democratic party, he virtually commanded them to vote for ratification. He secured enough votes to enable Hanna, Elkins and Aldrich to ratify a treaty which saddled the country with distant colonial possessions in tropical Asia.

Although Congress had declared that "the people of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent," it developed during the time Cuba was under the military government of the United States that complete self government in the islands was not practicable. After many conferences and a spirited controversy in the Senate, the Platt Amendment to an army appropriation bill was adopted. It gave this country control over Cuban foreign policies and sanitation, limited her indebtedness, and gave the United States a naval base and coaling stations. Also this government reserved the right of intervention to preserve peace in the island. Afterwards there arose a controversy as to the real authorship of the Platt Amendment, and several Senators claimed they had had a hand in framing it. Senator Platt of Connecticut told me McKinley had as much to do with it as anybody.

The Platt Amendment was first offered in the Senate on February 25, 1901. On February 9, 1901, Elihu Root, Secretary of War, sent to General Leonard Wood, governor-general of Cuba, a dispatch, telling him that certain stipulations must be made a part of the Cuban constitution then in process of construction by the constitutional convention sitting at Havana. The

provisions which Root wrote were almost identical paragraph by paragraph with articles in the Platt Amendment, with a slight change in the verbiage in one or two instances, but without the article referring to the sanitation of the island.

McKinley took the instructions which his versatile Secretary of War sent to the Cubans through General Wood, and handed them to the Senators with the instruction that he wanted them enacted into law by the Congress of the United States.

Some things are never fully explained. One is why the Isle of Pines should have been made a special exception in the Platt Amendment. I think it can be explained to some extent by the fact that constituents of certain Senators had acquired some sort of a title to lands in the Isle of Pines and were determined to maintain their claims, which they could do if the island was declared United States territory. To all intents and purposes the Isle of Pines is just as much a part of Cuba as Long Island is a part of the United States.

The manner in which a foothold in the Isle of Pines was secured and has been maintained since is rather interesting. It happened after Root became Secretary of War. He was absent one day and there came over the desk of Acting Secretary George D. Meiklejohn a paper relating to a claim of an American citizen in the Isle of Pines. Meiklejohn was not a man to shirk responsibility. He was acting Secretary and he acted. He signed the paper and by that scratch of the pen he established United States sovereignty over the Isle of

Pines, asserting that it was not a part of Cuba. In those days the Secretary of War was all-powerful in every part of the islands taken from Spain, and so Meiklejohn had acquired the Isle of Pines for the United States. Nearly one hundred adventurous spirits took advantage of the action of Meiklejohn and established claims and asserted title to tracts of land in the new possession as United States citizens on United States soil.

When Secretary Root returned and found what had happened and what was going on under the action of his assistant during his absence, he promptly repudiated and rescinded the order, but it was too late in one respect. Those Americans acquired "vested rights," or what they claimed as such, and they held on. The United States government has never attempted to assert a claim to the Isle of Pines. In fact Secretary Root distinctly avowed that the Isle of Pines was a part of Cuban territory. When he was Secretary of State he negotiated a treaty with Cuba ceding the island to that republic, or at least disclaiming any right or title or claim to title by the United States. But the treaty was not ratified. The men who located on the island immediately after Meiklejohn's action were powerful enough to prevent the ratification.

CHAPTER XXVI

HAWAII AND THE CANAL

Spanish War Annexes the Hawaiian Islands and Builds the Panama Canal—Tom Reed Unable to Stop Expansion—Had to Prove That the Majority Could Rule—*Oregon's* Trip Around South America Forces Canal Construction—The Spanish War Makes the United States a World Power—Becomes the Big Policeman of the American Continent—Monroe Doctrine Enlarged—Colonies and a New Policy.

TWO very important results growing out of the Spanish war were the annexation of Hawaii and the construction of the Panama canal. Dewey's victory in Manila Bay made it imperative in the minds of many people that Hawaii should be taken over by the United States in order that no neutral laws should be violated by using the islands in such manner as might be necessary for the Navy or the Army in going to and from the Philippines. The canal was made a seeming necessity by the trip of the *Oregon* around South America to take part in the Spanish war.

For years Americans wanted Hawaii. Our Navy had assisted in the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani and the establishment of the first republic. Then for a few years under Cleveland the monarchy was sustained, but before the advent of the McKinley administration the American interests discarded the tinsel of Kanaka

royalty and another republic was established. In earlier days a treaty had been made with the Hawaiian kingdom by which the United States secured the naval base at Pearl Harbor and in return the Hawaiians were granted free trade with the United States. The sugar barons reaped a harvest of something like $150,000,000, which they would have paid in duties if that treaty had not been negotiated. Generous Uncle Sam!

One reason why there was a demand for the annexation of Hawaii was because "we needed an outpost in the Pacific," to quote military and naval strategists. The great value of Hawaii as such an "outpost" was often made the high note in a jingo speech. In those days Japan had not risen to her present commanding position, and Hawaii was not necessary to guard us against the "yellow peril." But England was forever menacing us with her fortifications at Esquimalt at the entrance to Puget Sound, so that it was necessary to go out two thousand miles into the sea and build an outpost tc protect the country against a force just across the Straits of Fuca. Although having given close attention to military matters, I am yet at a loss to understand how an isolated army post and naval station two thousand miles away was of any advantage to the United States. The result has been that Hawaii has required the expenditure of a large amount of money for a naval base, and many troops must be stationed there constantly in order to insure holding the island as an outpost, and at the same time every military and naval

expert will tell you that in our present condition we could not hold Hawaii against a country like Japan ten days.

Speaker Reed, who had stood by McKinley in his effort to prevent a war with Spain, would not follow the President in his effort to secure the annexation of Hawaii. In breaking with McKinley on this important matter the Speaker found himself at odds with nearly all of his party in the House, including the leaders. As Speaker he was powerful enough to block the consideration of the resolution of annexation. This resolution had been introduced by Francis G. Newlands, a Democratic member from Nevada, and after a time it had been reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, a committee which Reed had fashioned after his own heart and many of whose members were indebted to him for such prominence as they had in the House.

An interesting incident in connection with assignments to the Foreign Affairs Committee occurred about that time. Champ Clark of Missouri had been trying ever since he came to the House to get a place on the Ways and Means Committee. He had given much attention to the tariff and had made his first speech of importance on that subject, although the coterie of Democrats who ran the House had tried to snuff him out. Reed and Champ were friends. Clark admired the keen wit and great ability of Reed. The latter enjoyed the rugged, homespun expressions and intense honesty of Clark. Champ went to Reed and asked for a place on Ways and Means.

"Champ, I'll appoint you," drawled Reed, "if you insist, but to tell the truth I want you to help me by taking another assignment. They're" (he didn't say who "they" were, but the inference was plain) "bent on annexing Hawaii. I intend to block their game. I want a man on the Foreign Affairs Committee who believes as I do and who is a fighter. You're that man."

Clark was much affected. "If you put it that way I'll stand by you," he replied, and he sacrificed a place he wanted in order to help the most uncompromising and able political opponent of his party in the country.

But foreign complications as well as politics make strange bedfellows. Just at that time Reed had a large Democratic following and little or no Republican support. The Republican party was the party of expansion; it had been the party which supported and approved the first Hawaiian revolt and vigorously denounced Cleveland for his policy in regard to the islands. But Reed was never in accord with any movement for expansion. He opposed increasing the territorial limits of the United States. He believed that it would break down the protective system in this country, and do great damage to that section which he sincerely loved—New England.

Clark was not of very much help to Reed in stemming the tide against Hawaiian annexation. The Democrats on the committee were not very strong in opposition and the Republicans were with McKinley, so the Newlands resolution was reported.

Then followed one of the strangest parliamentary battles ever known in the House. It had been the boast of Reed that the House of Representatives could do anything it wanted to do. He asserted, during all the years that he ruled it with an iron hand, and when he had back of him an unyielding Republican majority, that it was the House which was working its will. But here was a different situation. The House was undoubtedly in favor of annexing Hawaii. The majority party in power favored it, and here was the resolution in the House, but the majority was unable to get it before the House for consideration in a parliamentary way. Reed as Speaker controlled the situation.

But he was too wise to remain as the stone in the road. One day he told his parliamentary assistant that if General Grosvenor, who was the parliamentary leader of the forces in favor of annexation, wanted to put the resolution through he could do so by simply raising the question of consideration on every other measure that was brought up, and, whenever opportunity offered, move to proceed to public business instead of any particular measure. "If he has the votes he can win," said Reed. Asher Hinds, to whom this information was conveyed, was no infant and soon Grosvenor was in possession of Reed's view. He followed it up at once, and it was soon apparent that he had the House tied in a bow-knot. One day, getting recognition, he moved to proceed to public business. The Democratic parliamentarians were up with points of order, and it was expected that Grosvenor would be thrown down

by Reed, as no such motion had ever before been made in the House. But, to the surprise of nearly everybody who was not on the inside, Reed held it in order and Grosvenor had control of the House. He forced the opposition to come to terms and agree upon a vote upon the annexation resolution after reasonable debate.

Reed had to bow to the will of the majority or prove that his claim that the House controlled itself was not true. His system of rules was in danger. He always said there was an orderly method by which the House could work its will and the Speaker was not powerful enough to prevent it.

Reed knew that with a near majority and by fine work the Speaker and his lieutenants could browbeat and frighten enough of their party followers to secure legislation or defeat legislation, but he recognized the fact that in order to maintain the principles of representative government a determined majority must prevail.

From the time Columbus set sail across an unknown sea there had been a desire to find a short route to the Orient. Most of the explorations up the streams and inlets on the Atlantic coast had for their object a water route to the Indies. Finally, it was found that the isthmus connecting North and South America was the narrowest barrier between the two great oceans, and for nearly four hundred years men dreamed of a ship canal uniting the Atlantic and Pacific. How Frenchmen worked to build a canal on the Panama route, the various canal commissions of the United States, and the

long debates on the subject are all part of the history that led up to the ultimate accomplishment.

The *Oregon* built the canal.

The magnificent ship, for such she was in those days, the pride of the United States Navy, was ordered to circumnavigate South America and join the Atlantic fleet. No one can say who originated the order, but it was a part of the haphazard, happy-go-lucky system under which the war with Spain was conducted. The Atlantic fleet did not need another battleship to meet the small Spanish squadron any more than a cat needs an additional tail. But as soon as somebody thought about it the order was given and Captain Clark started on his memorable voyage. It was a great success. He joined the Atlantic fleet and was there when Cervera made his forlorn-hope dash out of Santiago harbor. The *Oregon* did her share in the destruction of the Spanish ships, but that does not alter the fact that she was not needed on the Atlantic coast.

But that trip of the *Oregon* built the canal. It aroused the people of the United States to the necessity of having a waterway by which the naval force could be transferred from ocean to ocean as it was needed. Nothing could thereafter stop the construction of the canal. There was a sharp contest between the Panama and Nicaragua interests before the route of the canal was finally determined, and Panama won, but an Isthmian revolution was necessary before the waterway could be commenced.

The United States emerged from the Spanish war a

world power. More than that, this country became the Big Policeman of the American continent, on account of expanding the Monroe Doctrine.

By the acquisition of lands in the Far East, islands in the Atlantic and the middle of the Pacific, and by constructing the Panama canal we entered that arena of world politics where power is necessary to maintain our position. The entangling alliance against which Washington warned had finally enmeshed us. We became jointly interested with other powers in the "open door" in China and the preservation of the integrity of China as a nation. We sent troops to Peking, acting jointly with other World Powers. We have entered into treaty obligations with other nations which would not have been necessary but for the results of the Spanish war.

As a World Power we have built strong fortifications in the Philippines and our Army garrisons many forts in tropical seas. We have attempted to make a Gibraltar of Hawaii and build an outpost to protect the highway of our Navy and merchant marine. We have built and fortified the Panama canal and incurred obligations and responsibilities which bring us in closer touch with foreign nations than ever before.

Prior to the Spanish war we had a Monroe Doctrine which meant that European nations should not colonize nor acquire lands on the Western Hemisphere. Since the Spanish war we have assumed guardianship over the weaker southern nations. In taking Cuba from Spain we assumed the responsibility of orderly government in that island, guaranteeing the protection of the

lives and property of foreigners, the payment of just debts of the Cuban government, and in other ways promising on behalf of Cuba good behavior to the rest of the world.

We have felt compelled to go farther than ever before in regard to the debts of some of these countries and the management of their finances. In South and Central America and in the islands of the sea we have made our power felt, and by our actions assured foreign governments that we assume the responsibility for the peace or punishment of the people.

It was not until turmoil and civil strife had torn Mexico into shreds that our Government assumed the power to dismiss a President of that country, but that act was in keeping with the policy of policing the American continent.

Perhaps if there had been no Spanish war we never would have expanded the Monore Doctrine until one can no longer gauge its limitations. Mr. Cleveland had gone to extraordinary lengths when he assumed to umpire a boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. But since the Spanish war we tell other nations that they shall not land forces to collect debts; that we will take charge of such matters.

Expansion was a direct result of a foreign war. It brought us territories inhabited by people who do not fit into our fundamental scheme of government. The best government in the world is the local self-government of small communities with the least possible interference by state and national authorities. Such a

government is frugal, careful and just. Furthermore it is honest.

The lands acquired by the United States before the Spanish war were populated thinly by white people, or by savages who had to be governed by force. Immigration followed, and when the new regions were settled by people from the older states, local self-government was instituted. Our territories, even Alaska, had their local governments as soon as there were people to organize and maintain them.

But suppose the lands we acquired and the lands over which we have a protectorate should be divided into towns and townships as in our own country, and told to set up their own self-governments, what would be the result? So disastrous that self-government would be condemned forever more.

The lands acquired at the time of the Spanish war were already peopled. The cynical remark of a Senator that Cuba would be all right if it could be sunk in the ocean for twenty-four hours, was a cruel way of describing the people and their incapacity for governing themselves. "You can't make a white man and a banana grow on the same quarter section of land," was another remark of Senator Pettigrew, "and where bananas grow there is no self-government."

The result has been that we have changed our policies. The statement in the Declaration of Independence about the "consent of the governed" does not apply to our new territory. The people were not capable or ready for self-government.

The United States has become a giant among nations. We have the power and capacity to grapple with every problem that comes to us. While it is true that the Spanish war turned our course and that up to that time we did not look beyond the shores of the two great oceans, we took up and handled the great responsibilities of that war like American citizens. If we have colonies, we govern them wisely and well. If we have become a World Power, we shall assert and maintain our privileges and shoulder our responsibilities like a great nation. If we have become the Big Policeman of the American continent, we shall do our duty as an efficient officer should, by endeavoring to pacify every outbreak and quarrel, using every possible means and being patient to the last, but ready and strong enough to enforce the peace and insure the rights and privileges of all peoples within the sphere of our power and influence.

CHAPTER XXVII

THOMAS B. REED RETIRES

Announces that He Will Not Be a Candidate for Speaker—No Longer in Harmony with His Party on Expansion—Greatest Man of His Time—Relations With the President and Senate—A Pork Barrel Incident—Praised by a Political Opponent—Speakership Contest—Cannon's Defeat in Illinois Causes a Stampede to Henderson—Uncle Joe's Vicious Comments—John L. Wilson's Farewell.

THE Fifty-fifth Congress expired on March 4, 1899. At that time the country had entered upon a new policy. Expansion had made the nation a World Power, or it had at least caused the country to enter world politics.

William McKinley with Mark Hanna behind him had established himself firmly as the leader of his party. He had been able to accomplish everything he set out to do.

Thomas B. Reed was dissatisfied with the trend of the party toward expansion, and the party was dissatisfied with Reed, who stood in the way of the policies of the Republican President. Reed had referred to the acquisition of the Philippines and the payment of $20,000,000 for the islands, as the "purchase of Malays at $2 per head." He said things about Hanna's management of the Republican party that were not relished, but the most serious feature of all was that in condemn-

ing expansion he was criticizing one important move of the Republican administration which had been backed by nearly everybody in the Republican party.

At the close of the Fifty-fifth Congress there were mutterings about the Speaker and the iron rule he exercised in the House. Already there had been talk of electing another Republican as Speaker. It was asserted that a man who would be in harmony with the President ought to be in a place of such power and influence in the House. And yet the men who held such views did not try to persuade anyone to become a candidate against Reed. No one felt sure that he could beat Reed. In spite of the enemies he had made, Reed had many admirers and followers. Moreover, those who knew McKinley were uncertain as to how far he would go in supporting a candidate in opposition to Reed. McKinley was not inclined to shoulder a contest if it could be avoided.

Reed exploded a bomb in April by announcing that he would not be a candidate for re-election.

Among the Republicans there was general relief that he was no longer to be Speaker. He was a hard master, and his sarcastic remarks to those who had opposed his will were very exasperating. His lieutenants in the House when he served his last term were Sereno E. Payne, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means and floor leader; Joseph G. Cannon, Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations; John Dalzell and Charles Grosvenor, members of the Committee on Rules. All of these men were inclined towards McKinley,

some of them the President's outspoken friends. To them Reed made remarks about the President that were very unpalatable. His attitude was one of antagonism and his position very unsatisfactory to himself and the Republicans.

The Democrats, on the contrary, had reached a stage where they appreciated Reed and regretted his retirement. Perhaps the fact that he differed so radically from the President, and the possibility that there might be a contest between Reed and McKinley which would split the Republicans, was the chief cause of the change. But aside from that, they had learned to like Reed much better than when he was Speaker the first time.

Although Reed served three terms as Speaker, he was at his best in the Fifty-first Congress. One of the great men of our day and generation, he was greatest when he earned the title of Czar, swept parliamentary cobwebs out of the House and reformed the methods of legislative procedure.

Reed was physically as well as mentally equipped for the great work he performed. He was a man of commanding presence, considerably above the medium height, large in proportion and fleshy. His corpulence distressed him, although he made no effort to reduce, save by walking to and from the Capitol.

"You must weigh much more than 250 pounds," once remarked a fat enthusiast of about that weight.

"No gentleman weighs more than 200 pounds," drawled Reed.

But even with his excessive flesh he was a fine look-

ing man. His head was large and bald, but of intellectual mold. His face was round, and the deep brown eyes were almost soulful until he was aroused, and they then flashed fire.

Reed was always conventionally dressed. Even when the absurd broad sash was worn as a part of the summer costume for men, he conformed to the style and furnished paragraphs for the funny men.

He was sarcastic in his tones and severe in his comments. He would utter a sharp and pointed sentence, even if it made an enemy of a friend, rather than forego the enjoyment he had in seeing his victim squirm.

"Everybody enjoys Reed's sarcastic comments and keen wit," McKinley once said, when the subject was mentioned, "except the fellow who is the subject of his satire."

Men whom Reed had assailed in private conversation or in debate remembered him in after years with more or less bitterness. It has been said that he preferred to make a witty remark and lose a friend rather than forbear and retain one. While his victims have asserted that it was this characteristic of Reed which prevented him from being President, that is hardly probable. Personalities were not apparent in the campaign of 1896.

Reed's career in politics was embittered by vexatious conditions. In the early days he and Blaine were not on friendly terms. Reed thought the popularity of the Plumed Knight was due to a misconception of Blaine's character. The ill feeling was increased by the appear-

ance of a letter during the hot quorum-counting fight signed "X.M.C." The writer took the side opposed to Reed, and was evidently well versed in parliamentary law. It bore the handmark of Blaine, who had been Speaker for several terms, and who was known to be antagonistic to the position of Reed. But as much as Reed disliked Blaine he disliked Harrison more. At the Republican convention of 1892 Reed was seen cheering during the Blaine demonstration.

"That is a sight for the gods," grimly remarked an old time Washington correspondent. "Tom Reed cheering Jim Blaine. He had to come to it; not that he loves Blaine, but he hates Harrison."

Reed broke with Harrison soon after the latter became President, and it was on account of a Federal appointment.

"I had one political enemy in Maine," remarked Reed, "and Harrison made him collector of the port of Portland, my home city, giving him the best and most powerful political office in the state."

He never got over the affront. He thought that a man holding the second place of power in the Government was entitled to some consideration, but the Senators from Maine wanted Reed's enemy and they won. Harrison was a senatorial President. He never was a member of the House, but had served six years in the Senate. In his opinion the Senate was worth considering. During his term he would always turn down a member of the House and give preference to a Senator.

Reed's relations with the Maine Senators can be summed up in a few words; there were no relations. After the Portland custom collector's appointment he never had anything more to do with them. His comments on the Senate and its methods of business did not tend to make such punctilious Senators as Hale and Frye entertain any idea of becoming more friendly with him, although as Maine men they were proud of him and his prominence.

Men who had seen Reed in action in the minority previous to his elevation to the Speakership told me that he was better before he was Speaker than afterwards. Before he was not a leader; when he became the minority leader in the Fifty-second Congress, he assumed a responsibility. Before he acquired such prominence he could choose his antagonist, and he always chose the best. Afterwards every man, great or small, particularly the little fellow, jumped at him. It did not matter whether attacking member was battered and bruised, he could tell the folks at home that he "had been in a lively debate with Tom Reed."

And that recalls a time when Reed was making a speech and some member jumped up and asked a question, only to receive a crushing retort. The success of his reply pleased Reed, and he said:

"Having imbedded that fly in the liquid amber of my remarks, I will proceed."

On another occasion when he was making a speech, and, pressed for time, was rushing along at a rapid pace, Amos J. Cummings thought he saw an opportunity to

make a point and interrupted. Reed towered over him and, scowling, snarled fiercely:

"Must *you* get in!"

The writer-congressman was crushed, for the inference was plain that he wanted to "get in" in order to appear as having had a debate with Reed.

As Speaker Reed was beset with many difficulties, mostly relating to demands of men in his party and the insurgent tendencies that developed among them. He had not been in the Speaker's chair, the first time, half an hour, when a revolt was led by Cheadle, a Republican of Indiana, who bolted the action of the Republican caucus in regard to the selection of a chaplain. Cheadle joined the Democrats in support of Rev. Dr. Milburn, the blind chaplain of the former Congress, and enough sympathetic Republicans followed Cheadle to elect Milburn. The Indiana man and the others went down in Reed's black book and remained there.

Another person who gave Reed a great deal of trouble was Pickler of South Dakota. Elected as a Republican, he was an embryo Populist. He was one of the principal delegates and speakers at the convention held in Ocala, Florida, where the Populist party was born. He helped to make the "Ocala platform," many planks of which, though derided at the time they were promulgated, were afterwards incorporated in Democratic platforms by Bryan and put into legislation by Roosevelt and Wilson.

Pickler was an old soldier as well as a Farmers' Alli-

ance man, a woman suffragist, and, what proved more annoying to Reed than anything else, a rabid prohibitionist. It was because Pickler insisted upon doing impractical things and was continually putting his party associates in embarrassing situations that Reed disliked him.

On every possible occasion Pickler would push forward a prohibition proposition. When the House was in committee of the whole no record of the vote was possible and the entire Democratic side would assist Pickler in getting some sort of an absurd prohibition amendment into an appropriation bill. When the bill was reported to the House, the Democrats would demand a roll call and force a record vote. This would be particualrly embarrassing to men who represented districts which were strongly prohibition in the country and anti-prohibition in the towns and German settlements. They were sure to make opponents no matter which way they voted. A few such moves caused Reed to remark: "I never fully understood the Biblical term 'the wild ass's foal' until I saw Pickler."

For several weeks Pickler had pestered Reed to recognize him in the House to call up a bill which the South Dakota man was anxious to have passed. Finally, Reed promised to grant the recognition, but soon after sent word to one of his lieutenants on the floor to object to Pickler's bill.

When the objection was made, Pickler in some heat rushed over to the member and asked why he objected.

"Reed asked me to," was the reply.

Pickler then rushed up to the desk and demanded of Reed: "What did you recognize me for and then have an objection made to my bill?"

"Because I wanted to get rid of you," truthfully answered the Speaker, who never tried to dodge when he was cornered.

Reed had a fondness for a number of Democratic members. Champ Clark was first in his affections, while Fleming of Georgia, John Allen of Mississippi, Dockery of Missouri, and Lewis of Washington he appreciated for their ability and wit.

During a session when the Republicans were in the minority, and the Democrats were making the regular spasmodic effort toward economy, Reed followed closely a river and harbor bill. When a provision for an improvement in Holman's district in Indiana was read Reed vigorously attacked it and was proving that it was a useless expenditure. Holman rose to defend the appropriation and in mock humiliation Reed apologized, saying he had no idea that the appropriation was to be expended in the district of the "watchdog of the treasury."

Soon after the point was reached providing for an expenditure in Dockery's district, and Reed made another fierce attack upon the expenditure, as Dockery was second only to Holman as an economist. Dockery came to the defense of the appropriation, and after he had spoken, Reed simply quoted from Byron's *Don Juan:*

"'Tis sweet to hear the watchdog's honest bark
Bay deep-mouth'd welcome as we draw near home."

But these things endeared Reed to his political opponents.

One of the most singular of friendships was that between Reed and Lewis. They were totally unlike in almost everything. Yet Reed liked the volatile, bewhiskered and elegantly attired man from the Pacific coast. One day he sent a page to Lewis to tell him the Speaker wanted to see him. As James Hamilton approached the Speaker's desk, Reed remarked:

"Lewis, your politics and performances in the House are execrable, but your learning is commendable. Here is a letter in Greek that I am unable to translate. I wish you would take it and see what you can do with it."

And that was the bond between them. They were both scholars and appreciated each other's erudition.

Powerful as Reed was in the House, there were times when the insurgents of his party by joining the Democrats were able to overthrow him. The first notable occasion was when Mills led the silver forces to a barren victory in the Fifty-first Congress. Another occasion was during his last term as Speaker.

David H. Mercer of Nebraska had succeeded Seth Milliken of Maine as Chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. Mercer originated the "omnibus public building bill," the method by which every town in the country of any importance has been given a building by the Government. Mercer's committee had reported to the House a bill which provided public buildings for more than two-thirds of the mem-

bers of the House. He went to Reed to secure a special rule and time to consider the bill.

"Dave," drawled Reed, "I have been looking into that 'pork barrel,' and I can't stand for it. There'll be no public building bill at this session."

"Generally I'd take your word for anything regarding legislation," grinned Mercer, "but in regard to this public building bill I rely on my own judgment. Frankly, Mr. Speaker," and this more seriously, "if we don't get a couple of days to consider and pass our bill there will be no more legislation this session and the session will not adjourn."

"Have you got the votes, Dave?" and Reed gazed calmly at the Nebraskan.

"Look 'em over," replied Mercer, producing a paper which he handed to the Speaker. It was an iron-clad agreement to stand by Mercer in every move he should make in order to secure the passage of the public building bill, and signed by two-thirds of the members of the House.

"I always have said," drawled Reed, "that the House had it in its power to do anything a majority wanted to do. What days do you suggest, Dave, for this raid on the treasury?"

When the arrangements had been concluded for consideration of the public building bill, Reed, with solemn countenance, turned to Mercer and remarked:

"Dave, your method of handling this matter challenges my admiration. I observe that you have strained your modesty somewhat in regard to your own

state by the number of buildings provided in this general grab."

"I have had a splendid training while serving under your late colleague, Mr. Milliken," replied Mercer. "When this bill passes, Nebraska, with a population exceeding that of Maine, will have seven public buildings, and you will observe by this statement from the department that Maine already has sixteen."

He placed the statement before the Speaker, who gazed at it with a scowling face.

"The —— —— ——" or something like it, was his only comment.

The fact that the members of the House had found methods by which they could defeat him, and that there was a general tendency towards insurgency and independence among the members, and that the drift of sentiment in his party was contrary to his ideas, caused Reed to become moody and almost ugly during his last days in the Speaker's office. He was curt with the leaders whom he had appointed to good places and who now seemed to desert him, and he was rude to the leaders of the insurgent movements which had been humiliating to him. Towering above all of them, this master mind could not brook defeats, nor continue in a position of apparent great power, when he was menaced by deprivation of that power at any time his opponents could muster a majority of the House membership.

He had a remarkable gift of memory. I once heard him deliver a speech of an hour in length, an advance copy of which had been furnished to the press. He

talked rapidly and with the usual oratorical accessories and finished exactly on time. The House reporters had copies of the speech and followed him carefully to see if any changes were necessary for the *Record.* Reed changed only one word in the entire speech.

Reed was the greatest man in Congress, while he was a member. He was not such a profound lawyer as David B. Culberson of Texas, or Ezra Taylor of Ohio in the House, nor as Edmunds, Hoar, or George in the Senate. He was not so great a lawyer as many others, but he was a bigger man intellectually and the greatest statesman of his time. No law bears his name, but Reed made for the lawmakers laws which are imperishable.

Senator Charles S. Thomas of Colorado, a Democrat, in urging a reform of the rules of the Senate in a speech February 3, 1915, paid this tribute to former Speaker Reed:

"Mr. President, one of the greatest men this country ever produced was Thomas B. Reed of Maine. He was great in many ways and in many things, but the greatest of all his accomplishments was his complete revolution of the rules of procedure of the House of Representatives. He there found a condition that could be well termed one of legislative anarchy, and had much experience with its attempted operation through many years of previous service. He had the courage and genius to confront that situation, and despite bitter opposition proceeding from every quarter, he established a system of rules which makes it possible to do

business in that body, and which its bitterest opponents were obliged to accept."

Following the announcement that Reed would not be again a candidate for Speaker, a number of Republicans became candidates for the position. Payne and Sherman of New York, Dalzell of Pennsylvania, Grosvenor of Ohio, Cannon and Hopkins of Illinois, Henderson of Iowa, and Tawney of Minnesota, became active candidates or were put forward by their friends. It looked as if there might be an old-fashioned contest for Speaker to be fought out in the caucus of the Republican members when Congress assembled in December.

It was expected that the delegations of New York and Illinois, where there were two aspirants, would settle upon one man, the impression being that Sherman would be the choice of New York and Cannon of Illinois. Then came the great surprise. The Illinois delegation had a meeting and Hopkins won over Cannon.

Uncle Joe was furious. He had been a candidate for Speaker ten years before and had tried for the Senate, but he failed to get further than the Chairmanship of the Committee on Appropriations. Soon after the meeting of the Illinois delegation he encountered Hopkins.

"Hopkins," he said, "you've got the delegation, but you won't be Speaker. From your first appearance in Congress you have been manipulating the Illinois delegation for yourself.

"First you got the endorsement of the Illinois dele-

gation for a place on the Ways and Means Committee. Every time there has been an election of United States Senator you have tried to get the endorsement of the Illinois delegation for the senatorship.

"When Dingley died and while he was lying cold in the hall of the House of Representatives, before the funeral started for his home to put him in the ground, you got the Illinois delegation to endorse you for Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee which Dingley's death made vacant. But you didn't get the place.

"Now you've turned and twisted and got the endorsement of the Illinois delegation for Speaker, but mark my words, Hopkins, you won't be Speaker. You've only succeeded in beating me out of it, for I would be elected if Illinois presented my name.

"I suppose you will continue to seek the endorsement of the Illinois delegation for every vacancy. Inside the pearly gates, perchance, if you should get there, you'll seek the endorsement of the Illinois delegation for something, even if it should be a seat at the right of the Throne. I rather think you will be in the other place, seeking the endorsement of such members of the Illinois delegation as may be there for the first good place old Nick has to offer."

Cannon was right in his prediction about Hopkins and the Speakership. Few of the other candidates had any hope of success. In fact they were taking a chance, most of them believing that Cannon would be elected. But the action of the Illinois delegation produced a sudden change. Hopkins was not popular. As Asher

Hinds, long time the Speaker's right hand, once remarked, "Hopkins gets to the front, it must be by his invincible redheadness." But his methods did not add to his popularity.

There was a speedy withdrawal of a number of candidates, and one state delegation after another declared for Henderson, and within a month after Reed's announcement it was known that David B. Henderson of Iowa would be the next Speaker of the House. When Congress met no other name was presented to the Republican caucus.

Nelson Dingley, Jr., died during the term. He was Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and author of a tariff law that long survived him. For twelve years it remained on the statute books, a remarkable record when everything is considered. Dingley was also the author of the War Revenue Act, which did not last as long. That act provided for a duty of ten cents a pound on tea, inserted upon the urgent insistence of Senator Tillman. "South Carolina cannot get much in the tariff steal," he told the Senate, "but here is a chance for her to get a little bit and she is going to grab it." There was a tea plantation in South Carolina, but the duty did not cause the infant industry to thrive.

Dingley was one of the most industrious men in the House. He worked all the time and with a great deal of intelligence. When he was the floor leader he gave much attention to the business of the House.

"I always listen to the first speech a man makes in the House," he once told me, "or at least I listen to the

first part of it. If he has anything to say I follow him to the end. I can always take a man's measure by his first speech."

Dingley had no sense of humor and on that account was often a victim of Jerry Simpson's wit. This Populist was keen and took great delight in getting a rise out of Dingley, particularly on tariff matters. The Maine man nearly always wore a high silk hat. At the beginning of each day's session it reposed for a time on Dingley's desk in the center of the Republican side. If a page did not whisk it away soon, everybody knew there was nothing of importance in sight and that Dingley did not intend to remain long. When it disappeared before the Journal was read and the routine business cleared away, the members expected something of importance.

One day Jerry Simpson passed down the aisle on the Republican side, looked into the Dingley hat and went over to his seat. Soon he had an opportunity to get recognition. He spoke of Dingley's protective views and his advocacy of building up home industries.

"But the gentleman from Maine does not practice what he preaches," said Simpson. "There's that hat which has become a barometer in the House. That hat was made by the pauper labor of Europe. It bears the firm name of a London concern. I was amazed when I accidentally saw that English trademark. The makers of that hat claim to be purveyors of hats to royalty."

In vain Dingley tried to explain that he had not in-

quired the make of the hat, but took that which fitted his head. He was very much disconcerted by the remarks of Simpson.

Another interesting figure in Congress from New England was Joseph H. Walker of Massachusetts. Early in his congressional career he had created a sensation in the House one hot day by peeling off his coat when he became overheated with the argument he was making.

Walker was Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency. That is a committee which often numbers among its membership big, brainy men, constant and earnest workers, but has difficulty in accomplishing results on account of disagreements among its members. Walker had much trouble with his committee and at times expressed his opinions with vigor. One day he was a little late in reaching the committee room, and the sixteen members of the committee were sitting around the table, the chairman's seat alone being vacant. Walker looked over the men for a moment and then broke forth:

"Asses!" he cried, scornfully, "sixteen complete, unmitigated asses! And I am the seventeenth," he added, as he sank into the chair at the head of the table.

Justin S. Morrill, the venerable Senator from Vermont, died before the Fifty-sixth Congress assembled. He was a wise and good man and served long in the House and Senate. He was author of the homestead law, one of the most beneficial acts ever passed for the West. A tariff long on the statute books bore his name. To

Senator Morrill, more than any other one man, is the nation indebted for the magnificent Library of Congress.

In his later years, though he retained the Chairmanship of the Committee on Finance, Morrill did not take a very active part in the affairs of the Senate. He had a desire, however, to remain in the Senate as long as he lived, and this caused an unpleasant paragraph to appear when he died, which led to a disagreeable incident in one of the Senate elevators. The paragraph was published in the Portland *Oregonian*, which was edited by Harvey W. Scott, and stated that Morrill had hung on to life for years to avoid funeral expenses.

Soon afterwards Mr. Scott was in Washington, and entering the elevator accompanied by an Oregon Senator, was introduced to Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, who was in the car. Hoar and Morrill were relatives.

"I will not shake hands with you," said the Massachusetts Senator, as Scott held out his hand. "You are the editor of the newspaper that published a scandalous statement about Senator Morrill," and he repeated the paragraph.

"I am editor of the *Oregonian*," replied Scott, "and while I never saw or heard of that paragraph, I am responsible. But I have no desire to make your acquaintance, and I turn my back on you."

And that is just what he did, proceeding on his way to the press gallery.

Stephen M. White of California was one of the Democratic products of the political revolution in 1892 when California chose a Democratic legislature. He

was not unknown to public men, for he had twice been a Delegate to national conventions. In 1888, the first time he ever was in the East, he was temporary chairman of the St. Louis convention.

White started out to be a powerful man in the Senate, but he was on the silver side of the political situation in the contest over the repeal bill and he was out of harmony with the Administration.

White never could become reconciled to the Senate rules and was one of the few at that time who advocated cloture. Once he was declaiming about the manner of doing business.

"We are working," he said, "under these silurian epigrams, miscalled the rules of the Senate."

For a new Senator thus to speak of the rules was a shock to the old Senators, those who believed in the sacred Senate traditions, and who used and abused the rules in their own way, enforcing them at times and overriding them at others.

David S. Turpie of Indiana was one of the most profound scholars in the Senate, of whom there were several, including Davis of Minnesota, Lodge of Massachusetts, and Quay of Pennsylvania, all of whom had drunk deep at the fount of knowledge.

Turpie was once asked if he had read *Quo Vadis*, a book which was creating a great deal of comment.

"Haven't read the book, but I know about a little chapel or shrine just outside of Rome which is called Quo Vadis." Many a reader of the book has been unable to trace the origin of the name, but Turpie knew.

Arthur P. Gorman had been defeated when Maryland went Republican during the silver campaigns. Murphy of New York and James Smith, Jr., of New Jersey had been famous as fellow partners with Gorman and Brice in raising the rates in the tariff act of 1894.

One of the very able men lost to the Democrats was George Gray of Delaware. In the twelve years he had served in the Senate he had made a reputation for honesty and ability which was a credit to him and an honor to his state. Afterwards as a circuit judge and chairman of the coal strike commission he rendered the country valuable service.

John L. Wilson was retired from the Senate in 1899. He had been the first member of the House from the state of Washington and was elected to a four-year term in the Senate. It was on the night that he ended his senatorial term that a fierce struggle was going on over the river and harbor bill. Senator Warren of Wyoming had attached an irrigation project to the bill, and after a vain attempt to have the House accept it, the Senate conferees had yielded and brought the conference report back to the Senate. Warren started a filibuster which looked as if it might cause the defeat of the bill.

Wilson interrupted Warren to give him a little rest, and took occasion to make his farewell speech in the Senate. He criticised the manner in which the West was treated by the East, and also commented on the treatment of new Senators by the older members of the

body. He spoke of the way things were done in the Senate, which he said reminded him of the old lines:

> The old goose, thinketh, thinketh, thinketh,
> The young goose blinketh, blinketh, blinketh,
> But the young goose never knows
> What the old goose thinketh.

CHAPTER XXVIII

INTERESTING EVENTS IN CONGRESS

Depew and Beveridge in the Senate—Polygamist from Utah Excluded —Matt Quay Loses Senate Seat by One Vote—Famous Clark-Daly Fight Transferred to Washington—Montana Millionaires in a Battle of Dollars—Sam Hauser Injects a Ray of Humor.

THE Republicans had a majority of only eighteen in the House of Representatives in the Fifty-sixth Congress, but they made gains in the Senate. There were seen for the first time in this body Chauncey M. Depew of New York, Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, Porter J. McCumber of North Dakota and Wm. A. Clark of Montana.

Depew was the best known of all the new Senators. Beveridge was the most interesting character of the new crop and continued to be a personality as long as he remained in the Senate. The manner of his election gives an idea of his methods. There were a number of candidates, most of them wheel-horse Republicans who had been members of the House or who had been for years waiting for the Republicans to gain control of Indiana so that they might get their reward.

They all laughed when they found that "that boy Albert Beveridge" had become a candidate. And when he asserted that he would be elected they said he

was crazy. But Beveridge had campaigned in every legislative district in the state, and as he helped each man by his vigorous speeches and paid particular attention to boosting the legislative candidates, he gained their good will. And before taking leave of each candidate he secured a promise of the man's support as a second choice if he were pledged, or on account of locality had to support another man as first choice.

When the legislature assembled it was found that four prominent candidates had about an equal division of votes, but when it came to fixing up deals among them for the Senatorship there were the second choice pledges for Beveridge in the way. In the end Beveridge won. From that day forward he was never in accord with the Republican leaders in his state.

Right at the beginning of the session there was an interesting situation. Brigham H. Roberts came to the House with a certificate of election from the state of Utah, and with a defiant attitude that the fact that he had three wives sealed to him by the rites of the Mormon Church was no reason why he should not be allowed to take his seat. But the membership of the House had a different notion. When Roberts stood up to be sworn in Robert W. Tayler of Ohio objected, and he was compelled to stand aside and await an investigation.

He never did take the oath, as the committe reported in favor of "excluding" him, a new method of getting rid of an undesirable member. The contest was between exclusion and expulsion. Minority Leader Richardson claimed that exclusion was unconstitu-

tional, and he was supported by Charles E. Littlefield of Maine, who had succeeded Dingley. Littlefield made a good impression in the House and a reputation which he sustained as long as he was a member.

By a very large majority Roberts was excluded, and, strange to say, many sympathetic comments came from women who were the most interested spectators of the proceedings.

During the long recess in 1899 Senator Beveridge, the newly elected Senator, dashed off to the Philippines and returned chock full of a message to the American people which he unloaded in the Senate in a very interesting speech. It contained much information, but the remarkable part of it was that, although it required two or three hours in delivery, the young Senator scarcely deviated a word from the printed proofs which he had furnished the newspapers. It was asserted that Beveridge had spent hours and hours before a long mirror in his bedroom, arrayed in his night-shirt, rehearsing and committing to memory that speech.

Afterwards he was frequently in the debates. I was going to say always, for there was no method the elder statesman could devise to suppress the earnest Hoosier Senator.

On one occasion Senator Pettus undertook to discipline Beveridge and delivered a sarcastic excoriation which caused the Senators to break all rules of decorum and laugh often and heartily.

"We had a wonderful oration here yesterday," began Pettus, referring to a speech by Beveridge, "a wonder-

ful oration from our great orator—wonderful. It was marvelous in all its parts. It was so marvelous, I dare say, that nothing like it was ever before heard in the Senate of the United States. When you get a genuine orator he is utterly absolved from all rules of logic and common sense."

And so on for a quarter of an hour. The venerable Alabama Senator, looking through his large spectacles, solemn as an owl, never smiled, although there were roars of laughter all around him as he proceeded.

But it did not suppress Beveridge. In fact he never was suppressed during his twelve years in the Senate. Just as I regret that David B. Hill and Joseph B. Foraker could not have met and debated with each other in the Senate, I also regret that Senator Beveridge and James Hamilton Lewis could not have met in the same forum. One would have been a battle of the giants, the other a contest of game cocks.

There were two unusually interesting controversies over the seats of Senators during the year. There were no contestants for the places, but the rights to seats by the men with certificates were disputed and finally determined against them. In one of these Matthew Stanley Quay was denied a seat on the appointment of the Governor of Pennsylvania when the legislature had been deadlocked by a few of his enemies and there had been no election. Quay lost by the narrow vote of thirty-three to thirty-two, and the pairing of Senator Hanna against Quay had far-reaching political consequences, which will be related in another chapter.

One other vote was a great surprise, that of Senator Vest of Missouri. Vest and Quay had been the closest of friends from the time Quay became a member of the Senate. Vest had assured Quay and his friends that, notwithstanding his interpretation of the Constitution on this question, he was going to vote for his long time friend. And, much to the surprise of Quay and his friends, Vest voted against seating Quay. The Pennsylvanian never had an opportunity to get even with Vest, as the Missouri Senator was then on his way to the grave.

The other controversy was more renowned, though of less importance. It was the battle of Montana millionaires, and the spoils were a seat in the Senate. It was the Clark-Daly feud carried to the National Capital, and the shameful use of money in elections was flaunted before the public in a manner to make the new state a stench in the nostrils of the world.

For a number of years there had been a rivalry between those mighty mining millionaires, Wm. A. Clark and Marcus Daly. Clark was a resident of Butte and Daly of Anaconda. Once they had been friends and worked together for the Democratic party. Then came the state capital fight and Butte and Anaconda became rival aspirants. That divided Clark and Daly and thereafter they were sworn enemies.

In the campaign of 1898 Clark was a candidate for the Senate, and spent money lavishly to elect a legislature favorable to his candidacy. Daly spent as much or more to defeat him. When the legislature met Clark

money was used freely to buy votes for Clark and Daly money just as lavishly to buy votes against Clark. In the end Clark won.

Then Daly carried the contest to the Senate and after a long drawn out hearing the Committee on Privileges and Elections reported against Clark, but before a vote could be reached in the Senate Clark resigned.

There were a number of interesting incidents in connection with the contest and some that were quite shocking. One day a constituent of Senator Pettus of Alabama came to the Senate and told Pettus, who was a member of the committee, that he wanted to get in and hear the testimony.

"I'll get ye in, Bill, if ye want to hear it," said the ancient Senator, gazing over his spectacles solemnly. "But ye won't understand anything about it, Bill. They don't talk about anything less than thousand-dollar bills in there."

One witness in that celebrated case knew a great deal more than he intended to tell regarding the money spent in the famous election. That was Samuel T. Hauser, one of the old Vigilantes, Governor in territorial days, and one of the typical frontiersmen who made the West. Hauser was rather ashamed of the exhibition which was being made; his pride in Montana was hurt; he thought that a fight between two very rich men, in which both played the same game, and one out-bought the other, should not have been dragged before the country in a great contest. He did not publicly state his opinion of Marcus Daly, who was opposing Clark

and whose money was used so lavishly to defeat Clark, and, if the truth were known, whose money was used lavishly in Washington to unseat Clark, but Hauser's privately expressed opinion of the "Big Irishman," as he called him, was that Daly was a "squealer," a man "who wouldn't stand the gaff," one who "put his money on the table and made an open bet, but hollered when he lost."

Consequently Hauser told as little as he could to the committee, but he was picturesque. He frequently used western terms and the frontier language of politics, and it was very difficult at times for the classical Senator Hoar to understand him. After Hauser had told of his conversation with Clark and his efforts to "knock out the boss Irishman," in order to help his own city of Helena, he said that he advised Clark to talk with his confidential men.

"It was my idea," he said, "that if I could get Clark to loosen up we could stand Daly off."

"Get Clark to do what?" asked Senator Hoar in his high-pitched, querulous voice.

"Loosen up," replied Hauser.

"What do you mean by 'loosen up?'" asked Senator Burrows of Michigan, who knew perfectly well, but wanted to enlighten the Massachusetts Senator.

"He is a very close business man," explained old Sam, and his eyes twinkled, and there were nods of acquiescence among the many Montana men present, "and he does not like to let go, and campaigning in that country is very expensive."

Hauser continued after one or two interruptions: "I do not want to give my people away, but then, I will do it. I went to see Clark and sat up with him until 3 o'clock in the morning. I told him that instead of spending his money in fine houses and pictures in New York, he ought to spend it in Montana and help us out and help him. I told him I thought we could elect him Senator. He with his careful business habits wanted to know how much it would cost, and I told him $40,000 to $60,000, after the primaries for legitimate election expenses."

Hauser was asked to give an idea of the cost of political campaigns in Montana.

"Well," he replied, "since Daly and Clark got into the game in later years, it has been a pretty healthy amount."

"Do you mean to say, Governor Hauser," asked Senator Hoar with incredulity, "that you would need a fund of $60,000 in a senatorial campaign?"

"Just as a starter, Senator, just as a starter," blandly replied Hauser. "Why, in our first campaign the Big Four started it with $150,000."

"Who are the Big Four?" asked Senator Hoar.

"Colonel Broadwater, Marcus Daly, William A. Clark, and a fellow by the name of Hauser," was the reply.

Very nearly every man of prominence in the Democratic party in Montana, and not a few Republicans, were drawn into this contest between the men of millions. It was not a nice story. It was of no credit

to either side, this battle between giants of cash, over a seat in the Senate.

Afterwards when Clark came back without any contest the recollection of the stories told by witnesses of vast expenditures hung over him and to a great extent destroyed his usefulness, although he proved a hard-working and industrious Senator, carefully attending to the work of the various committees on which he served.

Clark tried his best to make up for the past, to be popular with his fellow Senators, and as a patron of art to make a place for himself. He gave dinners and in many ways spent his money. But he just missed it. He didn't quite know how, and he never got over the days when frugality was an important feature of his daily life. Hence he is not remembered in Washington for his industry as a Senator, his good fellowship, his contributions to the art world, but as one of two Montana money kings who battled with dollars over a seat in the United States Senate.

CHAPTER XXIX

ROOSEVELT FOR VICE PRESIDENT

Quay's Desire for Revenge Greatest Factor in Nominating Rough Rider for Second Place on the Ticket with McKinley—Mark Hanna in a Rage Calls Roosevelt a Madman—Anti-Imperialism Becomes the Paramount Issue at Bryan's Second Nomination—Campaign of 1900 without Incident.

DURING the early part of 1900, before there had been much political discussion, Governor Theodore Roosevelt of New York came to Washington and mingled with his many friends. I met him in the corridor of the Senate, looking just a little more like a statesman than in former days, due to his apparel rather than his manner.

"How do you like your new job?" I asked.

"It's a bully job; a man's sized job," he responded.

In spite of the fact that Hanna did not like Roosevelt the President thought he was a man worth cultivating. The great popularity of Roosevelt in the West had been demonstrated when he made a trip to attend the reunion of the Rough Riders in New Mexico. At one place in Kansas an enthusiast had proclaimed a Roosevelt and Funston ticket in 1904. Roosevelt had taken a prominent part in the off-year campaign in Ohio and Maryland in 1899. In Ohio he vigorously opposed the election of John R. McLean, who was the

Democratic candidate for Governor. He also took occasion in his first Ohio speech to nominate McKinley for a second term.

McKinley was not unmindful of the prominence and popularity of the New York Governor. He invited Roosevelt to become a guest at the White House for the announced purpose of consulting him upon various matters relating to the Army, notably promotions and the selection of officers for the regiments then being organized.

Through it all could be seen the McKinley viewpoint. He knew that there was only one man in the United States who could possibly prevent his nomination in 1900. That man was Theodore Roosevelt. He wanted the support and friendship of the New York Governor. Mark Hanna was not the only politician in the Republican party. William McKinley knew a lot about the game.

As the Vice Presidency was the only question to be settled at the Republican national convention it was natural that many names should be mentioned, but Roosevelt continued to be the favorite of most of those who expressed an opinion. Early in February the talk became so general that Governor Roosevelt issued a statement from the executive offices in Albany in which he said he wanted to continue as Governor of New York, and closed with this emphatic declaration:

"It is proper for me to state that under no circumstances could I, or would I, accept the nomination for the Vice Presidency."

In giving out the statement he added, verbally:

"And I am happy to state that Senator Platt cordially acquiesces in my views in this matter."

When on another visit to Washington he reiterated his aversion to becoming Vice President, saying that he was not fitted for the position.

Very little interest was taken in the conventions of 1900. It was a foregone conclusion that McKinley was to be nominated for a second term and Bryan for a second time. These men would make the platforms and, in a general way, everybody knew what the platform would be. It was also assumed that they would select or approve the nominees for Vice President, hence it was understood that the Delegates would simply ratify whatever was handed them by the managers.

But to the surprise of everybody there was a contest in the Republican party at the Philadelphia convention. The man who was an exception to all rules in politics—and everything else—was the exception at Philadelphia, and was nominated for Vice President against the wishes of McKinley and over the most violent protests of Hanna.

Roosevelt was Governor of New York and wanted to continue in that position. He was seeking a renomination at the time the convention met. Senator Thomas C. Platt and the Republican organization in New York wanted to get rid of him as Governor; they did not want another two years of Roosevelt in the Governor's office. The delegation was under the

control of Platt. Ben. B. Odell, one of Platt's lieutenants, wanted to be Governor. Timothy L. Woodruff was Lieutenant Governor of New York and wanted to be the Vice Presidential nominee. The New York organization had given him a partial promise of support for that position.

Woodruff had achieved more notoriety on account of wearing brilliant and vari-colored waistcoats than fame as a statesman. Hanna's comment on his candidacy was characteristic:

"We are not going through this campaign," said the Senator, "with a highly colored vest as the tail of the ticket."

The key to the Vice Presidential situation was held by Matt. Quay of Pennsylvania. He and Platt nominated Roosevelt for that office. Without Quay, Platt could not have succeeded; without Platt's assistance Quay would not have been able to carry out his own plans and accomplish a vengeance for which he thirsted with all his intense nature. Quay's personal resentment against Marcus A. Hanna was the real cause of Roosevelt's selection. Hanna did not consent to the nomination until it was beyond his power to prevent it.

Matt. Quay, long the boss of the Republican party in Pennsylvania, had been twice elected to the United States Senate and in 1899 was a candidate for the third time. He easily carried the majority of the Republicans in the legislature, but a faction opposed to him held aloof after he had been nominated by the caucus and with the Democrats deadlocked the legislature, pre-

venting an election. The Governor of Pennsylvania appointed Quay to the vacant seat, but time after time the Senate had refused to admit any man appointed to a term when the legislature failed to elect. In the ten years previous to Quay's appointment at least half a dozen men had been refused admission under the same conditions.

But Quay believed he could win where others had failed. He was very popular in the Senate. Although an intense Republican, he had many warm personal friends on the Democratic side. The fact that he had helped to sidetrack the force bill in 1891 created a very kindly feeling for him among southern Senators. His long service for the Republican party he felt entitled him to consideration on that side of the Senate, particularly as the opposition which caused the bolt against him was largely of a personal character. Quay was right to a certain extent. Men who had always voted against admitting Senators appointed by the governor when legislatures had failed to elect, changed sides and supported Quay on personal grounds.

The vote was very close. Quay lacked one vote of being seated. Mark Hanna was responsible for that vote. Hanna had never been called upon to vote on that question during his short service in the Senate, and it was supposed that he did not have enough conscientious, constitutional, or other kind of scruples to prevent him from voting in another Republican Senator. He did not vote, but he paired against Quay, which had the same effect. Had he paired for Quay the Penn-

sylvania man would have been seated instead of being returned to private life for two years.

Quay was a good deal of an Indian. He was not only a friend of the red men, but he often had delegations of Indians at his home, had been initiated into the mysteries of some of the Indian rites and had been adopted into tribes. In fact it had been asserted that he was of Indian descent, and it is claimed that he was of the Abenaki tribe of Quebec. This is stated on a marble tablet in the Abenaki Indian church on the St. Francis River in the Province of Quebec. The tablet was placed in the church in honor of Quay. There is in the home of a missionary priest at the reservation a life-sized portrait of Quay in the costume of an Abenaki war chieftain and a letter from Quay in which he styles himself as such a chieftain. It may have been that this was one of the bands of his adoption. At all events he had the nature of the Indian for getting even with those who had crossed him. Hanna by that vote in the Senate made a lasting enemy of Quay.

Quay's opportunity came in 1900 at the Philadelphia convention. The nomination of McKinley was a foregone conclusion. The only contest was over the selection of a candidate for Vice President. John D. Long of Massachusetts, then Secretary of the Navy, who had served with McKinley in the House of Representatives, was the choice of the President as his running mate. Hanna had mildly acquiesced in this, but his real choice was Cornelius N. Bliss, treasurer of the Republican national committee, who was in closer touch with those

business interests dear to the Hanna heart than any other man. But the difference between Platt and Bliss in New York made his selection impossible. The whole New York delegation, with a few exceptions, were opposed to Bliss, but Hanna would have crowded him down their throats if he could have controlled enough votes to do it.

Quay found Tom Platt anxious to get rid of Roosevelt in New York. He also knew that of all men in public life Roosevelt was the most obnoxious to Hanna. Roosevelt while Assistant Secretary of the Navy previous to the Spanish war, had publicly and privately defied Hanna, and did his best to force the war in spite of the efforts of Hanna and McKinley to prevent it. Roosevelt had often expressed his contempt of the Hanna methods.

Quay knew about this state of feeling, and when he found Platt anxious to get rid of Roosevelt he was more than ready to coöperate with him. The agreement between these two men meant two of the largest delegations in the convention for Roosevelt. Besides, there were many western men who admired the dashing Rough Rider, the man who had carried New York for Governor, and they felt that he would add great strength to the ticket.

As these facts came to Hanna they set him in a rage. One day before the convention met I was in his private room waiting to see him. Henry C. Payne was there. The Wisconsin member of the national committee had come from the room where the national committee was

passing upon contested seats from southern states to see what Hanna wanted done about a certain set of Delegates. Hanna was in the telephone booth talking to McKinley in Washington.

He came out of the booth in a towering passion. In reply to Payne's question he replied, hotly:

"Do whatever you damn please! I'm through! I won't have anything more to do with the convention! I won't take charge of the campaign! I won't be chairman of the national committee again!"

"Why, what's the matter?" asked Payne.

"Matter!" shouted Hanna. "Matter! Why, everybody's gone crazy! What is the matter with all of you? Here's this convention going headlong for Roosevelt for Vice President. Don't any of you realize that there's only one life between that madman and the Presidency? Platt and Quay are no better than idiots! What harm can he do as Governor of New York compared to the damage he will do as President if McKinley should die?"

"You control the convention," said Payne, "why don't you nominate another man?"

"I am not in control!" shouted Hanna. "McKinley won't let me use the power of the Administration to defeat Roosevelt. He is blind, or afraid, or something!"

Hanna wanted authority from McKinley to make use of patronage and promises of patronage to bring the convention to terms. A large number of Delegates were Federal office holders and a majority interested

in office-holding. Hanna would not have scrupled to have informed each one of them that his office or his influence at the White House depended upon his voting against Roosevelt for Vice President. But McKinley would not stand for any such methods. One of his emissaries from Washington was General Henry C. Corbin. Corbin was a politician as well as an army officer. Soon after his arrival in Philadelphia he told Hanna that McKinley did not want to force the convention against its will in the matter of the Vice Presidency. Emissaries of Platt and Quay had been sent to see McKinley, and told him that even his own nomination was being endangered by Hanna's attitude in opposing the will of the convention, as the Delegates evidently favored the selection of Roosevelt who was a popular war hero.

McKinley was of that temperament which likes best to follow the lines of least resistance. He was just a little timid, too, and he did not want to do anything that would prevent his unanimous choice for a second term in the convention, or endanger his election. A revolt in favor of Roosevelt for first place he regarded as a dangerous possibility. Consequently, he would not give Hanna authority to make promises and pledges in his name to prevent the nomination of Roosevelt for Vice President.

And that accounted for Hanna's outbreak and assertion that he would not run the campaign if he was thwarted, and forced to accept Roosevelt as Vice President.

While all this was going on Roosevelt was having a "bully time." He was the central figure of the big show. He was one of the delegates-at-large from New York, but, although he was Governor he controlled only one vote in the delegation. He had obtained a promise from Platt that the vote of New York should not be cast for him for Vice President without his consent. Platt had to go that far as Roosevelt might have revolted, and absolutely refused the nomination, which would have left him on New York's hands as Governor for another two years.

"Why do they want to get rid of you?" I asked him soon after the arrival of the New York delegation.

"They all want to get rid of me," he grinned; "all factions in New York are for once thoroughly in accord; they want to get me out of the state. I am too independent to suit the machine and too much of an organization man to suit the mugwumps."

Roosevelt protested against having the Vice Presidential nomination thrust upon him. On one occasion he swept into a room at his headquarters where a score of his friends were assembled, and in his usual emphatic manner told them he was not going to be forced to take a place on a shelf at the behest of any political boss. "I am not going to be tucked away on the Vice Presidential shelf simply to satisfy the bosses," he asserted. After Roosevelt retired, half a dozen would-be keepers of this impetuous person expressed their fervent gratitude that Governor Roosevelt was not going to commit political suicide.

"Political suicide?" remarked Lodge, with a rising inflection. "I cannot imagine any more effective method of accomplishing such a result than by declining a nomination for the second highest office in the land when tendered by the Republican party."

Finally, Roosevelt issued a statement saying he did not want the nomination, but wanted to be Governor of New York another term, and closed with the appeal: "I earnestly ask that every man in the convention respect my wishes."

Immediately every man went out and began to hustle for Roosevelt. Jim Sherman and Lucius Littauer of New York were in Roosevelt's room at the time, and as soon as they received a copy of the statement they rushed out and sought a secluded place to read it carefully. I came upon them as they finished, and they were chuckling.

"What do you think, Jim?" asked Littauer.

"Why, it's a cinch," replied Sherman. "Of course he'll take it. All we've got to do is go ahead and nominate him."

That night the New York delegation held a caucus to decide on the Vice Presidency. Woodruff was still a candidate, but nobody thought for a moment that he would be nominated. His candidacy was a joke. Roosevelt went into the caucus, and at the first mention of his name he asserted that he had the promise of the state leader that he was not to be nominated without his (Roosevelt's) consent. "I have not consented," he said, "and I am going to see whether

this delegation is going to go back on the pledge given to me."

Platt was not there, but his lieutenants knew of the promise, and wisely refrained from forcing things. Then they gave "three rousing cheers" for Tim Woodruff, and adjourned.

I went to see the Governor after the meeting of the delegation, and found him in high feather.

"New York is still for Woodruff for Vice President," he said, in his high falsetto.

"But you are going to be nominated by the convention," I remarked.

"Maybe so," he said between snapping teeth; "maybe so. But I stood the New York machine on its head to-night!" he shouted, gleefully.

There were a number of men who wanted the nomination for Vice President. Senator Stephen B. Elkins of West Virgina was one. But Elkins was then a past-boss, with no power outside of his own state. He belonged to the old Blaine days. Hanna would have nothing to do with his candidacy.

Long had the Massachusetts delegation and other New England Delegates in a perfunctory sort of a way. Senator Lodge was the leader, but he knew that Long could not be nominated, and Lodge never enjoyed being on a dead card.

One afternoon Lodge lay stretched out on a bed in Roosevelt's room, where he had been smoking a cigar, and listening to the gossip. At length he arose and rather languidly, remarked:

"Well, I suppose I must go out, and for a time be loyal to John D. Long."

To Lodge Long's candidacy was so ridiculous that he could not refrain from poking fun at it when among his close friends.

Jonathan P. Dolliver, then a Representative from Iowa, and afterwards Senator, was considered. "You can't transfer the Long delegates from New England to Iowa without dropping quite a number of them in New York on the way," said the sagacious Lodge.

Hanna objected to Dolliver because he said Dolliver had charged $100 for each speech he delivered in the campaign of 1896. Hanna said he wanted no man for Vice President who had to be paid for party work. Dolliver was not anxious for the place and only in the later stages of the convention did he consent to the use of his name. Lafe Young of Iowa prepared a speech nominating Dolliver, which he afterwards changed to a speech nominating Roosevelt.

Senator Fairbanks was the choice of Indiana and of many McKinley men for Vice President, but he was not then anxious for the place he consented to take four years later.

Matt Quay played his trump card in the convention. The committee on rules and order of business reported. Its report was largely perfunctory, and was going through without question when Quay asked to have excepted from the report the rule providing that the Delegates to the next convention should be elected in the same manner as heretofore. The balance of the

report was then adopted without opposition, and Quay offered an amendment, largely reducing southern representation in the next convention. This caused a great commotion among the southerners, as, coming from Quay, it meant business.

Quay had his amendment go over until the next day, and the convention soon after adjourned.

Then there was a scurrying and hustling among the southern Delegates.

"What does Quay mean?" queried some, while the more sagacious asked: "What does Quay want?"

Hanna was appealed to, and assured the southern Delegates that there was no possibility of Quay's amendment going through. But McKinley did not want any such issue raised. Every Republican nominee for President has avoided that issue, fearing the effect it would have in states where the negroes hold the balance of power, and could defeat a candidate.

Finally, the word went forth from Quay's rooms to the leaders of the southern Delegates.

"Get your state delegations together and declare for Roosevelt for Vice President," was the Quay message, and it acted like magic. What did those southerners care about the Vice Presidency? Their big power in national conventions was too valuable an asset to be lost. State after state, or the leaders who controlled them, met and pledged the Delegates for Roosevelt.

That move broke Hanna's control. He surrendered. That evening he called in the newspaper men, and, as if he were announcing an important piece of news, or a

great discovery, told them that after much consideration it had been found that an overwhelming sentiment had developed for Governor Roosevelt for Vice President, and that he would be nominated without opposition.

When the convention met the next morning, Quay rose and in his thin, almost inaudible, voice, withdrew his amendment to the rules amid applause from the southern states. And there was not a sign, not the movement of a muscle of his face, which indicated that he had revenged himself on Hanna for that vote which prevented him from taking a seat in the Senate.

Everything was then set for the perfunctory work of the convention. The platform, which interested nobody, was adopted. Senator Foraker again placed McKinley in nomination, and he received every vote in the convention. Roosevelt was then nominated by Lafe Young and seconded by Chauncey Depew, and received every vote in the convention save one. He modestly refrained from voting for himself. Hanna was again made chairman of the national committee, and the Republicans went forward confident of another victory.

By long distance telephone, and by exercising the domination over the Democratic party that was his for twenty years, William J. Bryan forced a silver declaration in the platform of 1900, but the convention made the retention of the Philippines and imperialism "the paramount issue" of the campaign.

The fight of Bryan for silver was one of the interesting features of the convention. He threatened that he

would not accept the nomination if there was not a distinct declaration for silver. He would not be satisfied with a simple reaffirmation of the Chicago platform of 1896, but insisted upon, and secured, a straight declaration. After a long struggle this victory was attained by the vote of the Hawaiian member of the committee on resolutions, who changed his vote at the earnest solicitation of the Bryan men.

It is rather an anomaly of our national conventions that in the decisions upon the seating of Delegates, in votes upon platform, and all other important matters in committees, the vote of Hawaii, or any other of the outlying possessions, has as much weight as New York, or any one of the great states.

Well, Bryan got his free silver declaration. In reading the platform to the convention Ben Tillman touched silver very lightly, but came out strong on the plank against imperialism, "the paramount issue of the campaign," and then paused while the crowd rent the air with cheers. Then he read it over again. When Bryan went on the stump he took his cue from the convention and made "the paramount issue" the historical feature of the campaign.

The Vice Presidency was quite a long time in doubt. William Sulzer of New York was an active candidate, and told his visitors from day to day how pledges were increasing the number of his Delegates. He anxiously awaited the arrival of Dick Croker, who he hoped would give the word to support Sulzer. But when the Tammany boss reached Kansas City, he said:

"Bryan and Sulzer! Huh! How long before everybody would be saying: 'Brandy and Seltzer'? Bill Sulzer for Vice President? It's a joke." That ended the Sulzer boom.

A few days before the convention met, when the only subject of newspaper gossip was about the Vice Presidency I talked with Ben. F. Shively of Indiana who had been mentioned. Shively explained why he could not be nominated, and could not accept. He did not want the glory of a defeat as a Vice Presidential candidate.

"I've got to get up a story on the Vice Presidency," I said, and added: "I believe I'll write a piece about old Uncle Adlai."

"That's a good idea," said Shively. "Stevenson is just the man. There you have it. Uniting the old Cleveland element with the new Bryan Democracy. You've got enough for one story. But say, this is more than a joke. Stevenson is just the man."

During the day I heard other statements favorable to Stevenson, and by night had a story which made the man who was elected with Cleveland in 1892 quite a prominent figure among the probabilities. And finally he was the only man considered. No one was very anxious to be the tail of what they considered was a forlorn hope ticket.

The manner in which David B. Hill was forced to take a back seat at the convention in 1900 was one of the interesting features of the gathering. He was the leader of the gold forces in 1896, a member of the committee on resolutions, and in control of the New York

delegation. At Kansas City he was ignored. Croker was in control of New York, and would not give Hill a place on the committee on resolutions, nor any other recognition. Hill made a flying trip to Lincoln and came back with a flea in his ear. His sense of humor was sufficient to allow him to joke about the cold reception he met at Fairview Farm.

"I have a reputation of being somewhat cold at times myself," he said grimly, "but I am not an iceberg."

"Was your trip successful?"

"I should scarcely call it a success," replied Hill.

Hill really wanted to be the Bryan leader in the convention. He thought it would be the best way to unhorse the Croker control in New York, and to rehabilitate himself in the party. But Bryan never had an olive branch for those Democrats who opposed him in 1896.

There was not much that was noteworthy in the campaign of 1900. It was a tame affair compared to that four years previous, when the same two men contested for the Presidency. The same chairmen were in charge, Hanna for the Republicans and Jones for the Democrats. Hanna again had all the funds he wanted, and the Democrats had enough to furnish Bryan an opportunity to tour the country again, and speak to the people—his favorite occupation.

Roosevelt contributed the only real interest to the campaign. He was more interesting and picturesque than Bryan, for although he was new in the national

game, he was well known on account of his exploits in the Spanish war and his spectacular canvass for the governorship of New York. He campaigned in nearly all the northern states, going as far west as Colorado. At Victor in that state there was a howling mob which for a time prevented him from speaking. They were very pronounced silver men. At Denver he was asked to define his views on the money question, and boldly proclaimed:

"We stand upon a gold platform!"

This almost caused a riot, but the very audacity of the utterance made friends for the Colonel, even of those who did not agree with him.

In his own state later in the campaign he was often badgered and insulted, but was generally able to hold his own, and he denounced those who tried to create disorder as hoboes and hoodlums.

When Roosevelt was campaigning through Minnesota, North Dakota and Montana, he was accompanied by a number of men of that section who knew him well. Those states have a large Scandinavian population, and in nearly every speech Roosevelt made an allusion to the "sturdy sons of Scandinavia" or to the "hardy Norsemen," or used some other catchy phrase. Finally, one of the western men remarked that notwithstanding the national ticket was Irish and Dutch (McKinley and Roosevelt), they all had to bow to the "Scandihoovian," a term sometimes used in playful derision where the Scandinavians became very prominent in politics. The remark led to the composition of a chant, which mem-

bers of the party would sing—or rather recite—with great gusto when in the private car of the Vice Presidential candidate. It ran like this:

"The Irish and the Dutch;
They don't amount to much:
Then hurrah for the Scandi-hoo-vi-an!"

Governor Roosevelt would join in the chant and outdo the others in laughter when it was concluded.

When the campaign was over Roosevelt returned to New York. His term as Governor ended on the first of January, 1901, and he had two months before assuming the duties of Vice President. The most of this time he utilized in a mountain lion hunt in Colorado.

The campaign was not quite such "rich picking" as it had been in 1896. The market for spellbinders was somewhat depressed. The "boys on the firing line" were not furnished quite so freely with money.

President McKinley decided not to receive delegations at Canton as he had done in the previous campaign. I saw him at the time of his official notification of the nomination, and talked with him about having a newspaper representative at Canton during the summer.

"It is unnecessary," said the President. "This is not going to be any such campaign as four years ago. There will not be visiting delegations, nor anything like that. I will not make speeches, save one or two late in the year. Four years ago I was a private citizen and the candidate of my party for President. It was my privilege to aid in bringing success to my party by making a

campaign. Now I am President of the whole people, and while I am a candidate again, I feel that the proprieties demand that the President should refrain from making a political canvass in his own behalf, and I shall not engage in speechmaking this year, save on one or two occasions when I shall speak upon national questions rather than partisan politics."

In view of the close attention given to the President of the United States in later days by the newspaper men, it seems rather strange that President McKinley should have stayed at Canton during the entire summer without a squad of White House reporters in attendance. In those days when the President went home for a vacation he took it, and the business of the government was conducted at Washington, only such very important matters as were necessary being sent to him and his action on them was announced in Washington.

Everybody knew that there was no necessity for such an effort to elect McKinley as there had been four years previous. The Democrats had made it easy for the Republicans by adding abandonment of the Philippines to the free silver declaration in their platform. The anti-imperialism plank in the platform afforded an opportunity for gold Democrats to return to the fold and many took advantage of it, asserting that silver was not a real issue as in 1896. But these men were mostly in the eastern states where their votes did not affect the result. On the other hand the Republicans in the West who returned to the party were of importance, and enabled McKinley to carry seven states which voted for

Bryan in 1896, while Kentucky was the only state that McKinley carried in 1896 that voted for Bryan in 1900. McKinley had about 100,000 more votes and Bryan about 150,000 less votes than in 1896.

During the summer occurred the Boxer trouble in China. Secretary Root handled the matter for this Government. President McKinley was in Canton and Secretary Hay was at his summer home in New Hampshire. Acting Secretary Adee was in charge of the State Department, but the business was actually transacted by Root. Adee was very deaf and it was with some difficulty that one could converse with him. One day Root returning from the State Department was surrounded by a number of newspaper men who asked him for news.

"There is really nothing to make public at present," he replied.

"But haven't you been over to the State Department?" he was asked.

"Oh, yes," he replied, as he reached the door of his office. "I am going to talk with McKinley over the long distance telephone, and I have been over practicing my voice on Adee."

One of the principal figures during the Boxer uprising was Dr. Wu Ting-Fang, the Chinese minister. There was a long period when no information could be obtained directly from the ministers of foreign countries who were besieged in Pekin, but Wu was able to give Secretary Root assurances of their safety. In some mysterious way he was able to obtain information not

accessible to General Chaffee, who commanded the American troops that went to the Chinese capital.

In later days Minister Wu took considerable satisfaction in adding to the many other questions for which he was famous one addressed pointedly to any person who was in China at the time of the Boxer trouble. It was:

"Did you get any of the loot?"

The looting of Pekin was one of the features of the expedition that was not creditable to the civilized powers that took part in it. In justice to General Chaffee it must be said that he tried to reduce looting on the part of Americans to a minimum. It may also be stated that much of the so-called "loot" consisted of goods which many Chinese owners sold for any price they could get. They saw the foreign soldiers breaking into the shops and helping themselves to the goods of other Chinese merchants, and considered it the part of wisdom to take what they could get for their wares.

Before the short session of Congress assembled in December, 1900, there had been important changes in the Senate. Dolliver succeeded Gear from Iowa, and Cushman K. Davis died, leaving a vacancy at the head of the Foreign Relations Committee, the most important committee in Congress at that time. Dolliver's promotion was not of great moment then, but later his presence in the Senate had a very important effect upon the politics of the country. William P. Dillingham of Vermont at that time began a long and useful Senate career.

Davis was a brilliant man, but too indolent to make use of his splendid talents. If he once became interested in a subject he went to the bottom of it. There was nothing that he did not uncover. That was true in regard to his first great speech against the Nicaragua canal. He pointed out with apparent conclusiveness that the route would never be satisfactory because earthquakes would destroy the locks and dams.

Talking to a small group of musicians on one occasion about their art and instruments, he revealed a knowledge about every sort of musical instrument that had ever been played, and the kind and character of musicians of all tribes and ages so far as there was any record.

"It's my damned inertia," he once said to me, explaining why he did not take a more active part in the affairs of the Senate. He would read late into the night and at the same time smoke strong cigars. At the Senate he would lie on a sofa in the cloak room or in his committee room, or indulge in the luxury of the baths which are provided for Senators. Only when deeply interested did he display the splendid mind and great ability he possessed.

CHAPTER XXX

THE YOUNGEST PRESIDENT

Theodore Roosevelt in the White House after McKinley's Assassination—A Marked Change Apparent—Many People Told Him How to Run the Government—The Booker Washington Sensation—First Tilt with General Miles.

PRESIDENT McKINLEY began his second term under most auspicious conditions. Opposition in his own party could muster only a few votes. His policy of expansion and the government of the territory surrendered by Spain had been endorsed by the people at the polls and by congressional legislation. It was believed that he had, by conciliatory methods and liberality in recognizing southern Democrats in the way of patronage, caused a tendency towards the disorganization of that party which might result in a break in the solid South. Everywhere he seemed to be the idol of most of the people. So great was his popularity that the shouts of the admiring throngs during his second inauguration had scarcely died away before there was talk of nominating him for a third term. This grew to such an extent that the President felt impelled to put a stop to it in a public statement, emphatically saying that he would not accept another nomination or an election.

It was altogether natural that at the second inaugural of Mr. McKinley the new Vice President should to a large extent occupy the center of the stage, especially such a Vice President as Roosevelt, whose wonderful career and personality lent an added attraction to the man.

Roosevelt presided over the Senate only six days during the special session, and most of that time the body was sitting behind closed doors considering executive appointments. But his every act was noted, even to the fact that he was prompted by a clerk near his desk in the details of the procedure in the Senate. He never learned whether he would like his new job or not. He remarked when the Senate adjourned that he was afraid he was going to find it rather tame for a man of his temperament.

Among the important events during the year 1901 were the decisions of the Supreme Court on the insular cases involving the Foraker Act in regard to Porto Rico and other legislation relating to the Philippines. By these decisions the right to levy duty on goods from those recently acquired islands, and the right to govern the insular possessions in the manner prescribed by Congress, was upheld. These decisions were by a five-to-four vote, the curious feature being that Justice Brown voted with four associates in one case, and with the other four in the other case. There is no doubt that political conditions and the home environment of the Justices had much to do in shaping these opinions. The most severe criticism of the court's action came from the Justices in dissenting opinions.

On the morning the opinions were rendered, Justice Harlan, a vigorous dissenter, gave a hint that he was much dissatisfied by telling a story to a friend, who asked if the opinions were coming that day.

"Down in Kentucky," said Justice Harlan, "a farmer had a very unruly heifer which was constantly breaking out of the pasture. He finally built a very high and tight board fence around a lot in which the heifer was confined. Some boys who wanted to have a little fun with him, took the heifer out of the inclosure one night, and backing her up to the fence where there was a knot hole poked her tail through it and left her. In the morning the farmer discovered the heifer and was much amazed.

"'I knew that knot hole was there,' he said, 'but how in thunder that heifer got through it beats me.'"

President McKinley had served six months of his second term when the great tragedy at Buffalo, in September, 1901, shocked the nation and changed the whole course of events in the country. The assassination of President McKinley was a more dastardly act than that which made martyrs of two other Presidents. There was neither the strife of civil war nor the heat of politics to engender the hate necessary to take the life of such a gentle character as McKinley. In his lofty soul there was only the desire to do good to all people and govern the Republic in the interests of the whole country.

Perhaps for his place in history it was well that

his career should have closed when he had reached the summit of success. He is enshrined forever in the hearts of the people as one of the great men, a President who stood for peace, but conducted a war to a successful conclusion, and who, to the best of his ability, was trying to solve the problems and bear the responsibilities which that war imposed.

"If it were not for Ida [Mrs. McKinley], I would prefer to go as Lincoln went," said Mr. McKinley to his close personal friend, Herman H. Kohlsaat, long before he became the victim of an assassin's bullet. Perhaps he had a premonition that he might fall at the zenith of his career. There are some things that no one can explain. I would like to publish a letter I wrote after the Republican convention in 1900, but can only make a few extracts: "They think they have shelved Roosevelt by nominating him for Vice President. . . . You know that to a certain extent I believe in manifest destiny. I feel sure that Roosevelt will become President during his term of Vice President."

There was an incident connected with the death of McKinley which was unimportant at the time, but which future events made interesting. McKinley was dead and in his casket in the Milburn residence at Buffalo. Roosevelt had been sworn in as President. At the ceremonies held at the Milburn house Roosevelt met Mr. Kohlsaat and told him that after the services he desired to see him at the Wilcox residence, where Roosevelt was staying. When Kohlsaat called he was

shown into a front room, where Roosevelt was talking with a tall, slim, scholarly-looking man, whom Roosevelt called Prof. Wilson when Kohlsaat was introduced, and then he added:

"Woody, will you step into the back room? I want to talk over something of particular importance with Mr. Kohlsaat for a few minutes."

Prof. Woodrow Wilson remained in that back room for an hour and a half.

Theodore Roosevelt was forty-two years old when he became President, the youngest man who ever held the great office. He was the fifth man to succeed from the Vice Presidency, and the third to fall heir to the place through the death of his predecessor by an assassin's bullet. Coming to the high office after such a tragedy made a profound impression upon him. He knew that he was not in harmony with the close friends of the late President, and that he was distrusted by Hanna and the men who were close to the Ohio Senator. There were people who feared his lack of judgment for the exalted position, and believed that he might do almost anything erratic which would upset business.

President Roosevelt attended the funeral ceremonies of McKinley, both in Washington and at Canton. In the Capitol building he met former President Cleveland, and as they shook hands the new President said:

"I am proud to have served under you, sir."

He alluded to the days when he was Civil Service Commissioner.

The elevation of Roosevelt to the Presidency made a

great difference with a number of Senators. This was particularly true of Senator Lodge, who had been Roosevelt's long time intimate; of Senator Foraker, whose relations with Hanna were somewhat strained, and who had never been on intimate terms at the White House; of Senator Beveridge, whose colleague, Senator Fairbanks, had been an intimate friend of Hanna and was close to McKinley; and of a number of others who had not been on the best of terms with the powers as represented by the Hanna domination in the Senate.

Roosevelt's intimacy with Lodge continued, and the Massachusetts Senator was so constantly at the White House as to cause comment among other Senators. There were jokes about Lodge having a latchkey. One day I was talking with the President and asked him if this impression of Lodge's influence at the White House was not likely to weaken his influence in the Senate.

"They don't understand it at all," impatiently exclaimed the President. "Instead of Lodge running me, I run Lodge."

While in conversation with him not long after he was installed in the White House I said that I supposed he was receiving advice as to how to conduct the office.

"Advice!" he replied. "I have received more advice than any man living—mostly bad."

Later in the Fall I was again in his office and told him that one of my friends wanted him to accept the use of a shooting lodge on Chesapeake Bay where there was excellent duck shooting.

"I am going to curb my desire for hunting," he replied. "I do not want the people to get an idea that they have a sporting President."

Roosevelt was in office just a little more than a month when he caused a sensation by having Booker T. Washington, the negro educator, lunch with him at the White House. This occurred on October 16, 1901, and for days it was one of the most widely discussed subjects in the country. In the southern states the President was universally condemned by public men and in the press.

It was a great shock to that element which was about to launch a white man's Republican party in the South. I had an opportunity to note the effect of the Booker Washington episode in communities where there was quite a large negro population. In Maryland many Democrats had left the party on the silver issue, and after voting the Republican ticket for a few years and finding they were not ostracized, had about determined to remain in that party. But the Booker Washington luncheon completely upset them. The Democrats who had remained steadfast jeered them and talked about "nigger equality." It drove many of them back to Democracy.

I told Roosevelt what was going on and that it would result in turning the state completely over to his old enemy Gorman.

"I am sorry," he replied, "if the good people of Maryland are disturbed about that affair. I'll tell you how it happened. The man was here talking with me when

luncheon was announced, and I told him to come in and have lunch with me while we continued our talk. That was all there was to it."

He made some other observations about doing things, and I said, "Don't do things."

"I must do things," was his reply.

And he continued to "do things" as long as he was President—and ever after.

The prediction about Maryland proved true. The state which had been casting its vote for Republican electors in two presidential campaigns, and then had a Republican governor, gave one of its largest Democratic majorities that Fall. Other states where there were negroes in any number also showed their resentment by giving large Democratic majorities.

It was not long after Roosevelt became President that he discarded the term, "Executive Mansion," in public documents and adopted "White House." The change was generally approved and the name has been retained by his successors.

Roosevelt saw more people during the first months he was in office than any other President. He had the faculty of receiving men, hearing them, getting their views and disposing of them in the least possible time. Hundreds of people went to the White House every week, and nearly all of them had an opportunity to see the President. Most of his time was taken up with office-seekers and those who wanted favors of one kind or another. That he could see so many people and dispose of them in such a short time was one of the

marvels of his whole Administration, and was one of the causes of his popularity.

Naturally, there was considerable alarm expressed concerning the safety of Mr. Roosevelt after he became President. The assassination of McKinley made it appear that the President was a target for cranks who for one reason or another would not hesitate to take the life of the President. The secret service men detailed to guard the President took every possible precaution, but with a man like Roosevelt it was exceedingly difficult for them to keep him in view. He did not like restraint. Always free and active in his manner of life, he found the vigilance of the secret service men irksome and their constant presence irritating. Oftentimes he gave them the slip and would be out of their sight for hours while taking a ramble in Rock Creek Park or enjoying an exhilarating horseback ride.

Finally, Chief Wilkie had a heart-to-heart talk with him. Wilkie told the President plainly that it was the duty of the men assigned to the White House to guard him and to see that no unauthorized persons gained access to him; that if anything should happen to him the secret service would be blamed for lack of vigilance, and he hoped the President would consider it in that light and submit to what seemed an annoyance in the interest of the country, his personal welfare, and of those whose duty it was to see that the Chief Executive was protected.

Roosevelt was quick to see the proposition in that light and promised ever after coöperation with the

men whose duty it was to guard him. But he gave them a strenuous life. They had to get motorcycles to keep up with him, and often returned to the White House much fatigued.

Not long after Roosevelt became President I had a conversation with him on the subject of precautions for his safety.

"If any man is willing to give his life for mine," he said, "there is no way that he can be prevented from making the attempt. But such a man must be quicker than I am in the use of his gun."

This was a reference to the fact that he carried a revolver. Often visitors at the White House saw the print of that revolver against his coat when it was tightly buttoned.

Naturally, there were critics of a President who carried a gun. One of them was General Miles, who had a serious difference with the President. The General made an adverse comment while addressing an audience in Texas.

"Think of the General's lack of a sense of humor," gleefully commented the President. "He criticizes me before a Texas audience for carrying a gun. And this in Texas where the average man does not think he is 'well heeled' unless he has at least two."

The break with General Miles grew out of the Sampson-Schley controversy, which had resulted in a court of inquiry on the demand of Schley. It was one of the big events in Washington at the time, and the whole country took a very lively interest in the extended in-

quiry, which was like a trial. Admiral Dewey decided in favor of Schley and two other members of the court against him.

General Miles, who felt free to comment on all questions, publicly declared that Dewey was right and condemned the majority opinion of the court. Not only was Roosevelt furious, but Secretary Root was thoroughly angered. Miles was reprimanded by Root in a letter couched in language that made it burn and sting.

General Miles went to the White House to make a protest and there, instead of the incisive, well-chosen words of Root, he encountered the explosive, bombshell, hurtling sentences of Roosevelt, who told the General in plain terms what he thought of his actions, not only in the case under consideration, but in regard to embalmed beef charges, and his course during and after the Spanish war.

During the previous presidential campaign a man had interrupted Roosevelt while he was making a speech, and asked him about canned or embalmed beef.

"I ate it," snapped Roosevelt. "That was only one of many slanders that were put forth for political purposes."

It was evident that he had not forgotten the subject during that interview with General Miles.

The Spooner act locating the Isthmian canal at Panama and providing for its construction, was the most important legislation of the Fifty-seventh Congress.

The House by an overwhelming majority decided in favor of Nicaragua, but under the skillful management of Senator Hanna the Senate, by a majority of ten, chose Panama, and the House accepted the Spooner substitute with only eight negative votes.

The result was not accomplished without rumors of the use of money and outside influence. In fact Wm. Nelson Cromwell, who was in the gallery during the debate, was severely scored by Senator Morgan of Alabama for the part he was taking and had taken in the negotiations for the French concession for which this government paid $40,000,000.

There was reason to believe that Hanna was not in favor of any canal, and hoped to play Panama against Nicaragua, and cause a deadlock between the Senate and House which would prevent a canal from being authorized. There was a number of Senators who believed that the canal would be a source of military weakness, and not a profitable venture commercially. Senator Spooner was one who doubted its feasibility, but he said that the people of the country had decreed a canal should be built, and he was concerned in getting the best route.

"The great transcontinental railroads are responsible for much of the canal sentiment," he told me. "They have lacked foresight in the conduct of their business, and caused the people of the country to believe that freight rates can only be regulated by an all-water route from coast to coast."

Senator Dubois of Idaho was one of several western

Senators who did not believe in the canal. "It is easier to vote for it than to explain why if I voted against it," he said. "In fact if any of us should vote against it, we never could explain our votes to our people."

When Congress convened the leaders seemed to be all against Cuban reciprocity, which had become a live subject. Henderson, Cannon, Payne and Grosvenor expressed opposition. "It seems to me we have done enough for Cuba," Grosvenor said. But in almost the twinkling of an eye they were over on the other side and earnestly supporting President Roosevelt.

Caucuses, conferences, and other meetings were held, but there were forty or more Republicans representing beet sugar states, who for that and other reasons, would not support the Administration. The Democrats were for the reciprocity bill because it was in the line of tariff reduction. Finally, the bill was passed, but the insurgents executed a flank movement. They tacked on an amendment, supported by the Democrats, removing the differential duty on refined sugar, which meant defeat for the bill when it reached the Senate.

There were several interesting incidents in the House while the Cuban bill was under consideration. One of them was a speech in which De Armond of Missouri spoke of the "five-fingered boss rule in the House," saying that Henderson as Speaker and the other two members of the Committee on Rules, Dalzell and Grosvenor, with Payne at the head of Ways and Means, and Cannon, Chairman of Appropriations, constituted an oligarchy such as never before existed.

Among the insurgents on the Cuban reciprocity bill were Tawney of Minnesota and Wm. Alden Smith of Michigan, both of whom later were taken into the regular camp. Another was the brilliant Frank W. Cushman of Washington He made a speech near the close of the debate which will always stand out as an artistic piece of "skinning." Long, lank, angular, homely, and solemn looking, he stood far back in the hall and unburdened his mind. After severely criticizing the House rules, he said:

"Some day in this House there will be an explosion of the honest patriotism and indignation of the individual members; and on that day in the midst of the fire and smoke incident to the occasion, I expect to see blown right through the roof of this hall one red button hole bouquet [Dalzell], one set of venerable white whiskers [Grosvernor], and one large, but luminous body [Payne]."

After further remarks, he added:

"I promise you to make another speech on the rules that will be so warm that it will have to be printed on asbestos and tied to a hand grenade for safe distribution."

Of course the leaders were sore, and for a time they talked about what they would do to Cushman. Then they had a bright thought. They took him in; took good care of him; gave him a good committee assignment, and gave him the legislation he wanted. Like Tawney, Smith, Mann and Lorimer, he kicked himself into regularity by forcing the leaders to recognize him.

The Cuban reciprocity bill died in the Senate, but after the lapse of a few months, President Roosevelt had his way. A treaty was negotiated by which there were mutual concessions, and Cuba was benefited by a twenty per cent reduction of duty on all her products entering this country.

Washington's birthday in 1902 was celebrated by the Tillman-McLaurin fight. The differences between the South Carolina Senators had existed a long time, but were intensified by McLaurin's vote for the treaty which ceded the Philippines to the United States. Finally, McLaurin read a personal statement in the Senate, and concluded with the assertion that Tillman had uttered a deliberate falsehood. Tillman was sitting two seats away, Senator Teller sitting between the two South Carolina men.

At once Tillman sprang past Teller, and before any one could raise a restraining hand he landed a left hand punch on McLaurin's jaw. The men grappled and attempted to exchange blows when Barney Layton, assistant Sergeant-at-Arms, Senator Warren, and other Senators ran forward and separated them.

There was a fine hubbub in the Senate and great excitement. At once the doors were closed and all spectators shut out. After a day or two of consideration both Senators were censured, which was the end of it so far as the Senate was concerned, but the event had rather far-reaching effect, because of subsequent action at the White House.

During this session Senators Bailey and Beveridge

also had a personal encounter. It occurred after the adjournment of the Senate following an executive session, and consequently was witnessed by few persons. During the day Beveridge had exasperated Bailey in the debate to such an extent that Bailey made an assault upon the Indiana Senator when the session closed. It was a rather violent attack, Bailey seizing Beveridge by the throat and throwing his weight upon him. A chair was broken in the mêlée, but when other Senators pulled Bailey off it was found that Beveridge, though badly shaken and somewhat bruised, had suffered no serious injury.

One of the important acts of the session was the prohibition of liquor selling in the Senate and House restaurants. Charles B. Landis of Indiana offered an amendment to the immigration bill which abolished liquor selling in the Capitol. It was adopted, accepted by the Senate, and ever after remained a law.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE WHITE HOUSE WONDER

Great Throngs to See Roosevelt—Prince Henry has a Strenuous Time—Tillman's Invitation to Meet the Prince Recalled—Philippine Troubles and Friar Land Settlement—Linguistic Acrobatics—President Stops the Coal Strike—Speaker Henderson Declines Re-election—Reed Smoot and the Senate—Revolution at Panama Necessary to Construct the Canal—Ohio Endorses Roosevelt for a Second Term—Miles Retires and General Staff Takes Possession.

THE greatest throng that was ever seen in the White House attended President Roosevelt's reception New Year's Day in 1902. More than 9,000 people, including officials of high and low degree, and a swarm of citizens, passed through the portals and shook hands with the President. A record of what they said and his replies would make quite a volume. He was the most wonderful man of the time, and everything he did created commendation, criticism, amazement, or curiosity. The White House was the center of our universe, and everybody seemed to be wondering what Roosevelt would do next. And they were not kept waiting long, for one thing followed another so quickly that public affairs seemed to be in a whirl.

Prince Henry of Prussia, the brother of the German Emperor, visited this country during the winter. He came to Washington just after the Tillman-McLaurin

encounter in the Senate. As he was a naval officer naval officers and the ranking men on the naval committees in Congress were invited to the dinner given in honor of the Prince at the White House.

Just before the dinner Roosevelt recalled the invitation to Senator Tillman on account of the fight. That caused a sensation of the biggest kind, and it made Tillman the life-long enemy of Roosevelt.

There was an amusing story told about that entertainment. The German national beverage was in evidence and huge beer steins were borrowed to give atmosphere to the occasion. Some of the guests of a curious turn of mind examined a few steins closely and were surprised and amused to read on them:

"This stein was stolen from Fritz Reuter."

The German restaurant proprietor always had stamped his steins in that way to prevent souvenir hunters taking them from his place.

The President gave the Prince a very strenuous day when they took a long horseback ride over the hills and across the valleys and streams around Washington in a pouring rain. The Prince was game and kept beside the Rough Rider, but the uniform he wore was a wreck.

The Philippine Islands absorbed a great deal of attention about this time. The settlement of the friar land question was very important. Governor Taft, who had been on a visit to the United States, went to Manila by the eastern route and stopped at Rome to confer with the Vatican.

Before Taft went to Rome there occurred one of the apparently trivial incidents that have a great deal of influence in settling important questions. A brother of Cardinal Merry del Val, the Papal Secretary, was in the United States. Señor del Val was on his way to the western coast of South America to sell guns to some of those countries and called himself a "gunman." He called on General Clarence R. Edwards, who was chief of the Insular Bureau in the War Department, and who knew all about Philippine affairs. Later in the day Edwards received a message asking:

"Will the plain soldier dine with the gunman this evening?"

Edwards accepted, and these two talked for hours about the Philippines and the friar lands. As a result del Val wired a cancellation of his steamship reservation from San Francisco to South America, cabled his brother, the Cardinal, that he would be in Rome in ten days and sailed for Europe immediately.

For the conduct of the friar land negotiations he had all the necessary information, and this he gave to his brother, with the advice that the terms which Governor Taft would offer when he arrived should at once be accepted.

It did not take Governor Taft long to come to an understanding with the Vatican, and one of the most troublesome questions regarding the Philippines was settled. Incidentally it put the Administration and Governor Taft in closer touch with the Catholic Church, a fact which was felt in politics in subsequent elections.

There were other troubles. General Miles made a tour of the islands and in a report severely criticized army conditions, the "water cure," the lack of food, and gave a black eye generally to American administration in the Philippines. A greater outcry had been raised over the "water cure" than anything else, because it came dangerously near torture. The soldiers would insert a tube in the mouth of an insurrecto and pump him full of water, finally inflicting such distress as to force him to tell where arms and munitions were hidden, and also to give information as to where hostile bands of natives could be found. Secretary Root in a public statement said that Miles had misrepresented conditions as they existed, and Roosevelt issued an order still further restricting the activities of the senior officer of the Army.

It was about this time that General Jake Smith was court-martialed and retired for issuing orders to take vigorous measures to exterminate all insurrectos who ill-treated American soldiers. And Major Waller of the Marine Corps was the subject of censure for cutting to pieces the natives of Samar who blocked his way and murdered his men. In after years Jake Smith was made the hero of a Carabao song, and Waller became an idol of fighting men.

"Water cure," the killing of women and children, and other horrors incident to war, were bad enough. But it must also be remembered that there was great provocation. The Filipinos were exceedingly treacherous; they never recognized any methods of warfare, and

women and children were put forward as shields to the fighting men. American soldiers were cruelly tortured, captives being buried in the sand to their necks, covered with a syrup to attract the flies, and left to die a slow and horrible death.

But nearly everything that the American Army was doing in the Philippines at that time was bitterly condemned by the anti-imperialists in this country, largely for the purpose of convincing the people that we had made a bad bargain in acquiring the islands.

Curiously enough one of the heroes of the Philippine campaign, General Frederick Funston, was reprimanded for talking too much about affairs in the islands. It may seem strange that an Army officer should be reprimanded by the Roosevelt administration for talking too much, but Roosevelt felt that he himself was qualified to do the necessary talking for the Army.

During the summer of 1902, the Rochambeau statue in Lafayette Park was unveiled and Roosevelt attended the ceremonies. A French woman who had married an American was one of the interested participants, and she sat near enough to the President to hear him converse with the French visitors in their own language.

"He is a devil," she afterwards exclaimed. "No one but a devil could speak French so fluently who was not born and bred in France."

The remark recalls a later experience I had in the executive offices. I was there to write "A Day in the White House," and one amusing incident related to Roosevelt's command of languages. A procession of

visitors went by shaking hands with the President, some of them stopping to talk for a moment. One of them presented a card, and the President talked with him in German. Then he spoke in English to the next man. The following man was a Frenchman, and the President conversed with him in French, resuming English to the next in line. But a thought struck him, and turning to me, while the procession was halted, he said in his intense manner when amused or pleased with himself:

"To jump from English into German and from German back into English; and then into French; and then to return to English, requires a great deal of linguistic acrobatics."

President Roosevelt made many trips during the spring and summer of 1902 and spoke frequently on public affairs. The trusts were often the subject of his discourse, and it was evident that he intended to urge anti-trust legislation.

On one of his trips he had a very narrow escape. A trolley car ran into his carriage near Pittsfield, Mass., and he was rather badly injured. This injury forced him to abandon his tour after he had gone as far as Indiana, and he returned to Washington and occupied temporary quarters on Lafayette Square during the remodeling of the White House.

It was while in these quarters and confined to the house that he decided to stop the coal strike, which at that time threatened grave consequences to the people who depended on anthracite coal.

About the last of September the President called

the operators of the mines and John Mitchell, the strike leader, into conference. Nothing was settled at that time, and it seemed that the strike would go on. I called to see the operators after the first conference and one of them remarked:

"We object to being called here to meet a criminal, even by the President of the United States."

He applied that term to Mitchell. Others were scarcely less complimentary, and it seemed rather strange that these men should make so light of the whole matter when people were paying from $20 to $30 per ton for coal and many could not obtain it at any price.

But the President was determined. He sent Secretary Root to New York to confer with J. Pierpont Morgan, and a little later Morgan and Robert Bacon went to Washington, and after a conference with the President it was announced that an arrangement had been made to reopen the mines pending an investigation and settlement by a commission.

It was known to only a very few people that in the event of a failure to secure an agreement to resume mining coal Roosevelt had determined to order United States troops into Pennsylvania, at the request of the Governor of the state, and to seize and operate the mines as a public necessity. Lieut. General Schofield, then retired, was to be in command of the troops. That Roosevelt would have carried out this plan there can be little doubt, although it was not until years after that it was publicly known he had such a plan in contemplation.

The most interesting event politically in the congressional campaign of 1902 was the declination of Speaker Henderson to be a candidate for re-election. It started another Speakership contest, but it was short lived, for within a few weeks after the election Joseph G. Cannon, who had waited so long for the honor, was endorsed by nearly all the Republican congressional delegations.

Just after election the name of Reed Smoot began to appear. It was apparent that a legislature had been chosen in Utah which would elect him United States Senator. At once there was aroused opposition to the election of an Apostle of the Mormon Church to that office. President Roosevelt took a hand and sent a message by Senator Kearns of Utah advising against such a choice. Smoot asserted that Presidential interference was unwarranted, and declared his intention of accepting the office if elected.

Later, when Smoot had to go through the long-drawn-out contest for his seat, Roosevelt became his champion, and years after, even when Smoot was reckoned among the most staunch standpatters, and Roosevelt a Progressive, the Senator acknowledged the debt of gratitude that he owed to Roosevelt for assistance during the most trying period of his life.

Political features of the last part of 1902 and the early part of 1903 were the mention of Judge Alton B. Parker and William Randolph Hearst for the Democratic nomination. Parker was suggested by Senator Mallory of Florida, and the Hearst boom was started

at a Bryan meeting in Ohio, although not endorsed by Bryan. During the winter Bryan positively announced that he would not be a candidate in 1904. Grover Cleveland was often mentioned for a third term, and this caused both Bryan and Tillman to don their war paint and say that they would fight him to the bitter end.

The frequent mention of Hanna for the Republican nomination caused Roosevelt considerable anxiety, and there was no doubt, that many of the so-called "McKinley crowd" were ready to rally to Hanna's support if there seemed to be a reasonable chance of his success.

Roosevelt did not long stand by the determination he had formed not to be known as a "sporting President." He made a trip into Virginia to shoot quail, and in the autumn of 1902 he went on the famous bear hunt in Mississippi. It was not successful as no bears were found, but it resulted in giving the little black bear a standing in the cartoons of Clifford K. Berryman. Berryman made a cartoon of Roosevelt with gun in one hand, waving away with the other a man who was dragging a bear up for Presidential slaughter. Ever after Berryman put a little black bear in his Roosevelt cartoons, and the President always referred to him as "the bear man."

President Roosevelt in speeches and messages was insisting upon trust legislation during the short session of Congress. The Republicans did not want to take it up, and an extra session was threatened. One day

Senator Elkins told a number of his colleagues that there would be no trust legislation.

"I have just shown Attorney General Knox enough trust legislation now on the statute books to put every concern in this country out of business, and after he sees the President I think we shall have no more insistence upon legislation at this session."

The President was apparently satisfied with the showing and the additional power which was given him in the creation of the Department of Commerce and Labor with its bureau of corporations. He appointed George B. Cortelyou head of the new department, thus promoting the best Secretary to the President we had ever known up to that time, who made way for a still better one in William Loeb, Jr.

"I took Panama; it was the only way the canal could be constructed."

So asserted Theodore Roosevelt many years after he had left the White House and when the first ships were passing through the canal. The "taking" occurred on November 3, 1903. Echoes of that affair have been heard during all the subsequent years, and several times a political issue has been raised concerning the part played by Roosevelt in establishing the Republic of Panama. At all events, it was necessary to get the strip of isthmus to construct the canal and it was obtained.

Much has been written and printed concerning that revolution and as to how it was brought about. The cable signed "Loomis, acting," asking if there was a

revolution, has often been quoted, but no one has ever thought to make inquiry as to the origin of the dispatch which first prematurely announced the revolt.

Francis B. Loomis, First Assistant Secretary of State, was acting secretary on the day of the revolution, and the query has often been made why he should cable to inquire if there was a revolution. Those who want to prove that this Government fostered and promoted the revolution assert that the Loomis dispatch is virtually an admission of knowledge by the Government that a revolution was to take place.

In the afternoon papers of the United States on Nov. 3, 1903, appeared this dispatch:

"Colon, Nov. 3.—It is rumored here that startling developments, pointing to the independence of the isthmus, are on foot. Everything, however, is quiet here."

If that dispatch was written in Washington it would be fairly good evidence that some one in Washington knew that a revolution was about to take place. If my information is correct, the dispatch never was cabled from Panama or Colon, but was written in Washington.

What is the use of quibbling? Everybody on the inside of affairs knew there was to be a revolution. They knew it would take place on the arrival of the American warships. One of the warships cabled the announcement of its arrival at Colon, hence the dispatch indicating a revolution.

The Republic of Panama was established because Roosevelt had determined to build the canal while he was President, and it could not have been commenced under the conditions which Colombia had created in regard to the Hay-Herran treaty. The best evidence that Roosevelt's action was approved by this country was afforded when the treaty with Panama was ratified by more than a two-thirds vote of the Senate.

Roosevelt made his great campaign tour in 1903. It was a trip of sixty-six days, and he visited most of the states and practically settled the nomination of 1904. It was while on this trip that a very great blow was struck at the Hanna boom, which had been more or less troublesome to Roosevelt.

While the President was in Washington state the question was raised in Ohio as to whether the Republican convention should endorse Roosevelt for President in 1904. Senator Foraker was for endorsement. "Roosevelt is pretty quick on the trigger," he remarked, "but he has made few mistakes." Senator Hanna was against any action. Finally, Hanna decided to put it up to Roosevelt and sent a telegram which stated the situation and asked for a reply.

"I see no reason why the Republicans of Ohio should not endorse me if they are for me," was the substance of Roosevelt's reply, and that settled it.

During the trip Roosevelt spent several days in Yellowstone Park studying nature with John Burroughs. He barred the newspaper correspondents and all others, save the photographers.

"Oh, you couldn't expect him to bar the photographers," remarked John Hay to a few close friends. "I can imagine what is taking place.

"'We want this picture to be complete. Bring out that buffalo, and have him stand as a background. Have that Indian stand beside that beaver. Bring me that grizzly bear and mountain lion and I will stand between them. Mr. Burroughs, you are a little too much in the foreground, and will obscure the center of the picture. That's better. Now, I think we are ready. Go ahead, Mr. Picture Man.'"

And the Secretary of State gave a very fair imitation of the Roosevelt voice and gestures.

During the summer of 1903 Professor S. P. Langley made his final attempt to send his flying machine into the air, and it failed simply on account of an accident. A misplaced rope bent one of the planes and caused it to tip downward instead of soaring aloft as Langley expected. But although he did not see his own creation fly, before the year ended, the Wrights, with a machine constructed on the same principle, demonstrated that the machine was a success. And long after Langley's death the machine which he constructed was made to fly, just as the splendid genius believed it would. Langley built the first flying machine.

General Nelson A. Miles retired during the summer. It was an unfortunate circumstance that his relations with the President and Secretary of War were such that, after forty-two years of service and participation in the Civil War, numerous Indian campaigns, and the Spanish

war, he went on the retired list without a word of commendation such as other officers of his distinction had received. Both Roosevelt and Root would have been glad to commend his Civil and Indian war record, but they felt too keenly the conduct of General Miles after the Spanish war to offer him flowery language when he left the service.

At that time the general staff law went into effect. The Chief of Staff as the head of the Army was ensconced in the office next to the Secretary of War formerly occupied by the Adjutant General. This gave the Chief of Staff the place of vantage. The Adjutant General became the "outsider."

The legislation creating a general staff was not passed without giving General Ainsworth another promotion. He became Military Secretary, successor of the Adjutant General, with rank of major general. By the creation of this new position Ainsworth was able to get possession of the Adjutant General's department. Subsequently the old name was restored, but not with the power the office once exercised. Ainsworth tried to hold the power, with the result that there was a serious contest when a man of force became Chief of Staff. That happened when General Leonard Wood advanced to the head of the army. The row between Ainsworth and Wood reminds me of a remark made by General Jack Weston, who always said what he thought. It was after the staff legislation had passed, and it was only a question of time until Wood as the senior major general would become Chief of Staff.

"There is one satisfaction about it," said Weston. "The time is coming when two doctors will fight it out, and it will be a sight like that which follows when a small boy ties two cats together by their tails and flings them over a clothes line."

He alluded to the fact that both Ainsworth and Wood started as surgeons in their army career.

Weston's prediction was well nigh borne out. The contest between these men, who were formerly in the medical corps, was one of the interesting features of the flat-top desk and swivel chair army life in Washington. Wood came out victorious because he could keep his temper and had the backing of the Administration. Ainsworth could not refrain from putting into his official correspondence the bitter and caustic things he was capable of saying, and that finally proved his undoing. They were about to court martial him when he retired, leaving peace and quiet to some extent, but a smoldering row in the military affairs of the department.

About the time Mr. Taft became President, Ainsworth was in full swing and was constantly getting the better of General Frank Bell, who was Chief of Staff before Wood was selected. Taft knew the War Department and all the existing conditions.

"What are you going to do about the War Department?" I asked, Mr. Taft understanding that I meant the conflict between the Chief of Staff and the Adjutant General.

"I don't know just yet," he replied; "I may have to use an axe on Ainsworth."

They were carefully figuring out how they might get rid of him by sending him to a distant command, or by forcing his retirement.

One interesting event of 1903 was the election of George B. McClellan as mayor of New York, McClellan had been in Congress a number of years but he was not in harmony with his party. On occasions, and owing to the habitual absence of many New York members, McClellan would be the sole and solitary member voting against all other members of the party. Sometimes he would be supported by John J. Fitzgerald of Brooklyn, but he was so often alone that we had a standing joke about the "McClellan Democracy."

When he returned to Washington after the election to serve two months in the House, I congratulated him on his election, and he remarked:

"The McClellan Democracy has grown."

His election as mayor made him a Presidential possibility and he was discussed as a candidate. Then arose a question as to his eligibility, he having been born in Germany during a visit of his parents to that land.

"Is a man barred because he was born beside the Elbe, though both his parents were Americans?" McClellan asked.

But there was another reason. New York had another candidate.

Between McClellan and Samuel W. McCall of Massachusetts there was a warm personal friendship. It was undoubtedly fostered by the fact that they were often

almost alone in their votes, though not agreeing with each other on any question. McCall was not in harmony with his party on the insular legislation growing out of the Spanish war, nor could he become reconciled to the Supreme Court decisions upholding that legislation. In this he was supported by Littlefield of Maine. Both of these statesmen maintained that the Court was wrong. And a lot of other people agreed with them, including four members of the Court.

McCall used to give a dinner every winter to those who, he said, were always right on this question. There were six members of the House and two newspaper correspondents. Besides McCall and Littlefield, Vespasian Warner and William Lorimer of Illinois were of the number.

McCall in those days took considerable pride in being in a very small minority. To bills in the House he often proposed amendments which would receive only one or two votes besides his own. Once he offered an amendment, debated it, and secured a vote which was supported by sixteen other members of the House. As he passed up the aisle he remarked to a friend:

"No distinction in that vote. I have too many supporters."

CHAPTER XXXII

THE MAN OF DESTINY

The President Calls an Extra Session to Speed the Work of Congress—Cannon Speaker; Williams Minority Leader—Way Cleared for Roosevelt—Bitter Fight on General Wood—Politics in Congress.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT was anxious to have Congress transact all its business and adjourn early in the campaign of 1904, and to expedite matters he called the Fifty-eighth Congress in extra session early in November, 1903. The election a year before had caused a number of changes in the Senate. Among the new Senators were James P. Clarke of Arkansas, who succeeded James K. Jones; Arthur P. Gorman of Maryland; William J. Stone of Missouri, who succeeded George G. Vest; Francis G. Newlands of Nevada, who succeeded John P. Jones; Lee S. Overman of North Carolina; Reed Smoot of Utah.

Of the men who passed out of public life and made way for successors, the two Joneses and Vest were the most prominent. Twice had Jones of Arkansas been chairman of the Democratic national committee. He had been eighteen years in the Senate, and there was general regret among his friends when he was defeated. Jones had been a private in the Confederacy, and that fact appeared in his biography, in which he alluded to

the Civil War as the "late unpleasantness," a phrase made famous by a statesman during the reconstruction days.

Jones of Nevada had been thirty years in the Senate —or rather held a seat there, for he was irregular in his attendance. He was more of a Senator from California than Nevada, but it always has been one of the standing jokes of the Senate that California has four Senators, two being elected from Nevada. Jones went to California by way of the Isthmus of Panama. He lived in many parts of the new Golden State and had a fund of stories that matched the tales of Bret Harte. He was one of those splendid products of the days when the Western Wonderland was in process of development.

Vest of Missouri was one of the most flowery speakers that ever held a place in the Senate. He was gifted in his power of utterance, and when the fancy seized him he could pour a stream of glittering oratorical gems into the Senate chamber, and, what was all the more pleasing, it never seemed to require any effort on his part. He was one of the wonderful story tellers, Jones of Nevada being his only rival in that line. Vest was not among the last of the Confederates, but he was the last of those in the Senate of the United States who had been members of the Confederate Senate.

The successor of Vest, William J. Stone, was a most interesting personality. His prominence later and the fact that he, as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, found Henry Cabot Lodge the leader of the

minority of that committee, impels me to couple these men at this time in a brief reference to days when both were young and almost new in Congress.

Both were members of the Fifty-first Congress, Lodge the friend and protégé of Speaker Reed, Stone the somewhat isolated man from Missouri, making his own way. They represented two distinct sections of the country; two different schools of thought; of vastly different training and environment.

Lodge was a polished, scholarly New England man, with an ancestry reaching back to the early settlers of America. Stone was typical of the Southwest, of ancestors who were backwoodsmen and had pushed across the Alleghenies, continually looking farther westward, strong in mind and body, conquerors of the wilderness. With characteristics of those brave times still dominant in his composition, he met the man who was the product of centuries of culture.

The contest between them in the early days showed the difference in their origin and training. Lodge, calm and master of his words, Stone vehement, with language more forceful than elegant.

Stone changed more with the passing years. When he came to the Senate he had added a polish and style that were very unlike the old days. He used the rapier where he once wielded the bludgeon and was far more effective, a match in fine humor and sarcasm for any man in the Senate.

There was a natural rivalry between these men when they first met in the House, and it was resumed when

they faced each other across the party dividing line in the Senate. Their differences were conducted on a more dignified plane in the later years, but differences there were, differences of sections, differences of three hundred years of environment.

Joseph G. Cannon reached the summit of his ambition when he was elected Speaker of the House in the Fall of 1903. He had waited long and met several defeats, but it was a proud moment for him when he was sworn in as ruler of the House, and ruler he was for years—until there came a day of revolution.

John Sharp Williams became the minority leader of the House. This was a setback for Champ Clark, who would have secured the position if David A. De Armond had not again been a candidate. As he was the senior from Missouri, the delegation of that state voted for De Armond, and the other Democrats turned to Williams. De Armond was a very able man, a master of caustic language, delivered in a rasping and unpleasing tone of voice. He was a partisan of such intensity that he refused to become intimately acquainted with men of opposite political faith. He did not want to have any personal relations which might hamper him when he felt called upon at any time to arraign severely men of the Republican party. He was made Williams's second in command, but their relations were not cordial and at one time resulted in a personal encounter.

Early in the session Senator Newlands of Nevada was afforded an opportunity to break into the Senate debate, and he ever after spoke as long and often as he

pleased. Newlands, as a member of the House, had introduced the resolution for the annexation of Hawaii, and started his Senate career with a resolution for the annexation of Santo Domingo.

This aroused Senator Hale of Maine. He was against all kinds of expansion, and particularly against acquiring such populations as inhabited Santo Domingo. In a speech bristling with the sarcasm he could command, he scored the proposition of Newlands, in unmeasured terms.

Newlands was pleased because it afforded him an opportunity to break right into a speaking part. For years he had been suppressed in the House, but here was his real opportunity and he made the most of it.

Ever after, however, there was a marked hostility between the two Senators. Once when Hale had charge of a naval appropriation bill, Newlands interrupted the proceedings. Hale never liked to have his bills debated, and he disliked the interference of Newlands. In those days the Nevada Senator wore rather striking vests, in fact he was a rival of Tim Woodruff in this regard, and the day he interfered with Hale's naval bill he had on one of varied colors.

"I see," said Newlands, with a copy of the bill in his hands, "that in one place this bill provides for armor and in another for armament. Can the Senator from Maine tell me if there is any difference?"

"There is as much difference," replied Hale, with grave deliberation, "between armor and armament as there is between the paper which the Senator holds

in his hand and"—the hesitation was for effect—"the Senator's brilliant waistcoat."

So far as it dared the Senate snickered, and Newlands, only slightly perturbed, came back for more.

"The Senator from Maine jests with my ignorance," he said.

"No, Mr. President," said Hale, shaking his keys, and looking very solemn; "I never presume to jest with anything quite so monumental."

Hale could do such things and get away with them.

Mark Hanna died in 1904. His death cleared the way for Roosevelt. "I am glad I'm not in Roosevelt's way," said a man prominent in public life. "Garrett A. Hobart died and gave him an opportunity to be nominated for Vice President. William McKinley was killed and made him President, and now Mark Hanna, the only possible obstacle to his nomination for another term, has died. I tell you I would hate to be in that man's way when he wanted something."

Whether or not he was jesting, the fact was beyond question that with Hanna's death there was no further question of Roosevelt's nomination. Hanna had been much discussed as a Presidential possibility, and it seemed altogether likely that he might be put forward by the opponents of Roosevelt, by big business and other elements that were somewhat alarmed by the course the President was pursuing.

Hanna's death also paved the way for the confirmation of Leonard Wood as major general. Roosevelt found the former colonel of his Rough Riders at the top

of the list of brigadier generals, and when a vacancy occurred in the list of major generals, he promoted Wood.

Hanna's opposition was due to his friendship for E. G. Rathbone, an Ohio man who was in the Cuban service and retired under a cloud. Rathbone blamed Wood, who was Governor-General of Cuba at the time, for his difficulties, and devoted himself to a fight against Wood's confirmation.

Senator Foraker was the particular champion of Wood in the Senate, and throughout the long contest he did everything he could to bring about his confirmation. After Hanna's death the fight against Wood was carried on by Senator Scott of West Virginia. He had been a friend of Hanna from the first, and had been an open supporter of Hanna for President for several months preceding the death of the Ohio Senator.

There have been few contests of a more bitter character over the promotion of any army officer than that which was made against General Wood, and everything possible was done to discredit him. The people of the United States learned about a Cuban game called Jai Alai, in which gambling was a principal feature. It was alleged that Wood allowed the game to go on in Cuba and had been too friendly with the men who conducted it. As a part of the testimony the implements used in Jai Alai were introduced in the Senate, curved racquet and balls, and it was said that in one of the executive sessions of the Senate there was a partial exhibition of how the game was played.

But in time the general was confirmed and became one of the most prominent officers in the army.

A story was told about that time showing the power of executive influence, though it may have happened in a previous administration. One Senator was inclined to oppose the confirmation of an army appointment. This Senator had recommended a man for United States Marshal in his state, but the appointment was not made. The applicant came to Washington to find out why he was not appointed.

"It seems," explained the Senator, "that I have sort of lost my pull at the White House. I have been opposing the confirmation of an army officer and the President doesn't like it."

"Why are you opposing the confirmation?" asked the applicant.

"Well, you see," replied the Senator, "I have conscientious scruples——"

"Conscientious scruples, hell!" exclaimed the applicant. "I had conscientious scruples about electing you Senator, but I overcame them. I don't think I'll be able to next time."

As the man was a powerful politician at home the Senator saw a great light. He overcame his conscientious scruples and voted for the army confirmation. And in due time his man was appointed United States Marshal.

"I have never had any conscientious scruples since when it came to a matter of supporting anything a President of my party wanted," he said afterwards.

CHAPTER XXXIII

CAMPAIGN OF 1904

Republican Convention According to Schedule—Spooner Declines to Cast Half a Vote—Warmouth on Hanna—Would He Have Been Nominated?—Democratic Convention Nominates Parker, but Byran is Central Figure—The Gold Telegram—Democrats Gather to Share Rumored Four-Million-Dollar Campaign Fund—Republicans Win an Easy Victory—Church Influence—Roosevelt Announces He Will Not Accept Another Nomination.

A CONVENTION where everything has been determined beforehand, including the nomination of President, Vice President, the platform, and even the chairman of the national committee, affords mighty little real interest. It was generally asserted of the Republican convention at Chicago in 1904 that it not only lacked interest, but enthusiasm, and to a great extent that was true. We went there knowing that Roosevelt would be nominated for President, that Fairbanks would be nominated for Vice President, and that Cortelyou would be chairman of the national committee. All that was material in the platform was also generally known.

The settlement of the contests from the South had no bearing on the result, and were therefore of no particular interest. But it was while they were being considered that former Governor Henry C. Warmouth of

Louisiana made a remark which showed the basis of the Hanna talk that had been heard earlier in the year. We were standing in one of the rooms adjoining the convention hall.

"If Mark Hanna had not died he would have been nominated in that hall by this convention," declared Warmouth, pointing to the main auditorium. "Hanna would have controlled the delegates from the South, and the business interests would have controlled enough delegates in the East to have insured his nomination. I know what I am talking about."

I have always wondered just how much he knew.

There was one contest that was particularly interesting. La Follette was fighting Spooner in Wisconsin and contested the four delegates-at-large. It was a very bitter affair, and Roosevelt was asked to interfere and try to harmonize the situation.

"Roosevelt wants me to divide with La Follette," Spooner told me one night, "and admit both delegations with half a vote each. I haven't yet reached the stage in politics where I am willing to cast half a vote."

He was very sore. "You know how I have stood up for and defended the President in the Senate," he continued. "I have supported him all the time and there never has been any question of going half way in defense of his Administration. His course in this matter is a great surprise to me—or would be if I were not pretty well acquainted with him."

But Spooner won in the convention. The majority

of the Republicans were not any more enamored of La Follette than they were in after years.

It was during the convention that Secretary Hay's cable to the consul in Morocco was read:

"We want Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead."

That was the message to the bandits who held for ransom an American citizen in Northern Africa.

George W. Cortelyou furnished a bit of discussion after the convention when he accepted the election of chairman of the national committee. In thanking the national committee he told the members that he would be glad to have advice, but "would accept no dictation from any one, high or low."

Many of the members commented upon the difference between the new chairman and the one who had held the place for eight years, and most of them regretted the loss of Hanna. Some of them expressed the fear that the campaign would be a failure in the hands of an inexperienced politician like Cortelyou. They did not know that Cortelyou would simply be the mouthpiece of the nominee, who had developed into one of the shrewdest politicians the country had produced.

In view of the statement of Governor Warmouth and the talk that had been heard about Hanna before his death, I asked a number of his friends if he would have sought the nomination. They were not sure, but they did know that Hanna had never restrained any of his friends who were talking about him for the position. It was known that Roosevelt feared that Hanna would enter the race and complicate the pre-convention campaign.

Roosevelt did not want a political fight of that kind, and for a few months before the death of Hanna he was "making up" to him in his well-known fashion.

Marcus A. Hanna was prominent in national politics only eight years. While he had been a delegate and an active man at two national conventions, it was only when he decided to make McKinley President that he became a national figure.

A very remarkable man was Hanna. A man who had amassed a great fortune; strong mentally, jovial, kindly, generous, devoted to his friends, and ever active in their behalf; possessed of a charming personality, he made a friend of every man he met.

The Democrats have a way of making most of their conventions interesting. Everybody went to St. Louis in 1904 with the same idea—to see Alton B. Parker nominated, with a little interesting side show in the choice of a candidate for Vice President, and perhaps a scrap over the platform. It was known that two-thirds of the delegates were for Parker, or would be after a first-choice ballot. There was some doubt as to just what William J. Bryan would do, and that doubt furnished the preliminary interest. And it also turned out that Bryan, as before and since, was the central figure of the convention, and responsible for the sensations.

The convention had not been long under way before he made a fight on the Illinois crowd then in control and tried to have the delegation thrown out. Failing in that he went into the committee on resolutions and

had the gold plank removed from the platform after it had been inserted by the sub-committee.

In discussing the Illinois case Bryan said that, if there was one thing more firmly established than any other in Democratic principles, it was that a majority should rule. It would be interesting to know whether he recalled that utterance when in 1912 he defeated Champ Clark, who on nine ballots had a majority of all the delegates at Baltimore.

Bryan next appeared as the supporter of the Great Unknown. He reserved his nominating speech until the last, and when he stepped upon the platform everybody looked for the big surprise. Following his tendency as to the use of Biblical illustrations he had not been talking long before he compared himself, in a way, to Saint Paul. After making reference to his two campaigns for President and saying that he appeared at that time to return his commission to the Democratic party, he paraphrased the famous Apostle by saying:

"You may dispute whether I have fought a good fight, you may dispute whether I have finished my course, but you cannot deny that I have kept the faith."

Then followed the greatest and most enthusiastic demonstration of the convention. The crowds surrounding the delegates rose tier on tier and made the convention hall a scene of wild excitement amounting to adulation. All this was sweetest music in the Bryan ears. No doubt he enjoyed it all the more because two-thirds of the delegates were sitting glum and silent in their seats. They were Parker men and knew that

Bryan had been stabbing their candidate, and was even then going to add a few more knife thrusts.

After half an hour of oratory Bryan announced that Senator Cockrell of Missouri was his choice. The announcement fell as flat as a pancake, for everybody knew that Cockrell did not stand the least chance of being nominated.

The high light of the convention, in fact the summit of the entire Parker campaign, was the gold telegram after Parker had been nominated. All night long the committee on resolution sought to reconcile discordant views, and finally brought forth a platform in which the money question was tabooed. It was adopted, and then the floodgates of oratory followed with Parker's nomination on the first ballot.

Again there were speeches galore putting in nomination a Vice-Presidential nominee. Late in the afternoon there was consternation in the convention. Groups of delegates held hurried consultations. A mysterious paper was passed from one leader to another. No attention was paid to the orators who were talking about running mates for Parker.

All the consternation was on account of Parker's gold telegram. It created a panic among the delegates, and if some of the wise men had not secured an adjournment, no one can tell what might have happened.

During the interval the reply to Parker was fixed up, and after a stormy time in the convention it was passed. This did not happen until Bryan had offered an amendment and made a number of speeches. Finally, he

withdrew all opposition and, saying that Nebraska wanted Democratic victory, acquiesced in the selection of New York's candidate for Vice President, and thus in a seeming mood of resignation he subsided.

But he had accomplished one important result. He had made Parker's election impossible before the convention adjourned. He sent home thousands of his followers with the impression that the advice of their idol had been scorned and that plutocracy had taken possession of the Democratic party.

However, it must be said that if there had been no Bryan in existence, neither Parker nor any other Democrat could have been elected that year. In the first place, the pendulum of politics was still swinging towards Republicanism, and in the second place, Roosevelt was one of the most popular men in the country. At the same time Bryan had made it plain that Parker and those who had brought about his nomination represented everything in the party that had been repudiated at Chicago in 1896 and at Kansas City in 1900; also that the six-million-five-hundred-thousand Democrats who had been supporting Bryan theretofore had been slapped in the face.

It did not take the convention very long to nominate Henry Gassaway Davis, the Grand Old Man of West Virginia, for Vice President. He was then past eighty and it was asserted that he was too old, yet he lived to see many of those who were then in the full vigor of life and many years his junior, cross the Great Divide. It was said by Elihu Root, who officially informed

Fairbanks of his nomination as Vice President, that no man of such advanced years should be placed in a position in which he might be called upon to administer the affairs of the government. Mr. Root later reached a period when his own advanced years were by himself given as a reason why he should not be named for President.

There is no doubt that one reason why the venerable Davis was nominated was the probability that in view of his immense fortune he would be a liberal campaign contributor. But the Democrats did not get much out of Davis. One of the men who knew him well once said that mighty little of the Davis accumulations would ever go outside of the Davis family, or for anything that did not glorify the Davis name.

Henry G. Davis was an old-time resident of West Virginia. Stephen B. Elkins, born in Ohio, with a Civil War record in Missouri, and a political record in New Mexico, finally became a resident of West Virginia and the son-in-law of her richest citizen, Henry G. Davis. Together these men worked West Virginia. Although one was a Democrat and the other a Republican, there was no difference between them in business. The rich lumber regions and the richer coal regions became their property. Elkins, a bold and strong personality, made the Davis dollars turn over again and again.

So far as the Republican campaign was concerned it was simply a walk-over. The campaign made itself. Cortelyou made a few attempts to imitate the Hanna methods, but they were not very successful, because a

campaign was hardly necessary. There was ample money for the campaign; there would have been plenty even without the $250,000 Harriman fund. Only one corporation check was sent back. That was for $100,000, contributed by the Tobacco Trust. The Government was about to bring proceedings against that trust, and the Administration did not want to have any entanglements through a contribution from that source.

The Republican campaign was directed from Washington. Cortelyou was an excellent man to carry out details. He also had the faculty of keeping silent, as well as of denying statements. I had an interesting experience with him. His assistant, Frank H. Hitchcock, told me one night that the national chairman was going to make several speeches in New York City towards the end of the campaign. Of course I published the story and the next day Cortelyou handed out a little typewritten statement containing a flat denial.

A few weeks later he made the speeches.

Interest in the Republican campaign naturally centered in New York where both Presidential candidates lived. Governor Odell was in charge of the Republican party in that state, and William Barnes, Jr., was his lieutenant. They were a slick pair of political workers, and they knew all about the politics of New York. Once I asked Barnes about the situation and he gave me a stand-off answer.

"Albany county is the only place I know about definitely," he said.

"Well, how about Albany county?" I asked.

"I can tell you day after to-morrow," he replied.

"Why then, and not now?" I persisted.

"Well, to-morrow is 'dough day,' and when I know how much money I can have for Albany county I can tell what majority we shall get."

"Dough Day" in New York is an institution. It is the day that the county chairmen and state leaders assemble in Manhattan and receive their apportionment of money for their respective districts.

After the "dough day" distribution I again asked Barnes about Albany county.

"Albany will give a Republican majority of 6,000," he promptly replied.

Albany county gave 6,200 when the votes were counted. That was an illustration of the practical politics of the time.

The Democrats postponed the selection of a national chairman until a meeting in New York. Tom Taggart of Indiana had the pledges of enough members to elect him, but the friends of Parker wanted a different campaign manager. They explained that Taggart "was a good fellow and all that, but he had been, well, you know—his methods had not always been the kind which were approved by a more substantial element in the party."

So they postponed action for a New York meeting and a consultation with the candidate.

And what an overflow meeting it proved to be. Not only members of the national committee, but hundreds

of other Democrats were in attendance. A rumor had been spread about that there would be unlimited money for the Democratic campaign, which had not been the case during the two preceding elections.

The story was told to me by a very prominent Democrat, who was thoroughly incensed by the change that had occurred in a few weeks.

"We had been promised a campaign fund of four million dollars," he said. "The promise was made through Jim Hill of Minnesota, and we understand it came from J. Pierpont Morgan, who was backed up by big business men here in New York with whom he is in close relations. We were told, if we would nominate a safe and sane man on a sane platform, that that amount of money and probably more would be forthcoming as soon as the convention was over.

"Now, here we are, and we are told that the arrangement has failed. Morgan says he has made his deal with Roosevelt and that it is not likely that Parker can be elected, and they prefer Republicans in power anyway, if they can get along with them."

I knew the man who was talking. He was prominent enough in the party to know what was going on. Moreover, in addition to what he said, there was every indication that a very substantial campaign fund was expected to defeat Roosevelt, who had alarmed big business during the time he had been in the White House.

The Democrats began operations just as if they had plenty of money. They elected Taggart chairman, but

they hedged him about with an executive committee which really controlled everything, and this committee was dominated by August Belmont and Wm. F. Sheehan.

Elaborate headquarters were opened, and many of the Democrats who went to New York were placed on the pay roll. It was lively while it lasted, but gradually gloom settled over everything. Even Taggart, who was known as "Chatty Tom," fled, leaving Urey Woodson of Kentucky, the secretary of the committee, to make the claims of success that he knew were utterly impossible.

During the campaign Democrats who were speaking in the northern states passed in and out of New York. They brought in reports which made the ever-increasing gloom grow thicker. I remember the surprise which Senator Stone of Missouri gave me when he said everything was going wrong. I remarked that Missouri was safe for the Democrats.

"Far from it," he replied. "Far from it. Missouri is not safe by any means, and I rather expect we shall lose the state."

And I didn't know whether he really meant it or not. Cortelyou, in a claim of 306 electoral votes, did not include Missouri, and the state was indeed a "mysterious stranger," when she appeared in the Republican fold after the election.

Roosevelt had the support of a large number of Catholics. "There are forty per cent of my people that I cannot hold," remarked Charles F. Murphy, the

Tammany leader, to one of his intimate personal friends. He referred to the Catholics who were going to vote for Roosevelt, also a tremendous Jewish vote that was usually for Tammany.

Regarding the Catholic vote I recall a remark by Frank H. Hosford, a Washington newspaper man connected with the Democratic headquarters. He went out to make inquiries among the people and found many Democrats who were going to support Roosevelt. One of these was a policeman who was stationed near the headquarters.

"He told me," said Frank, "that he was going to vote for Roosevelt because Roosevelt had done a great deal for the force when he was police commissioner. But I knew better. It was the mitre of the mighty Church!"

When it was all over and the result was known, Roosevelt added the touch which was the final brilliant piece of fireworks as the curtain went down. In thanking the people for their support, he said: "Under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination."

CHAPTER XXXIV

MAN OF MANY ANGLES

Roosevelt Constantly in the Public Eye—Finds Consensus of Opinion Against Tariff Revision—New States and First Break with Foraker —Class Distinctions at the White House—Race Suicide—Taft on the Lid—President Wins Peace Prize—Would Not Be Quoted.

IT is rather interesting to trace the Republican demands for tariff revision to their political sources. In nearly every case tariff reform is to be found fomenting in Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, with assistance in Kansas and Nebraska. I am now referring to demands for tariff revision when the Republican laws are in operation. Looking back as far as 1888 there was the "Iowa Idea." It broke out in Minnesota in a wave for Gresham for President, and was emphasized in all the states by big Democratic sweeps in 1890 and 1892. A few years later Joseph W. Babcock of Wisconsin, a Republican, became the champion of the tariff revision idea in the National Congress. He wanted to forestall the La Follette movement, which, among other reforms, was demanding a lower tariff. In Iowa Governor Cummins was winning by degrees as a tariff revision champion.

Congress had no more than assembled for its short session after the election of 1904 than the agitation for

tariff revision was resumed. It was kept up during the winter, but few people thought much about it until they heard that the President was seriously considering an extra session for tariff revision.

This caused consternation among the standpatters. Senator Aldrich, Chairman of the Finance Committee, had already bought his ticket for Europe, intending to sail when the short session closed. The opposition that developed to tariff revision caused Roosevelt to have a conference of Republican leaders at the White House. Among them were Allison, Aldrich, Platt of Connecticut, Cannon, Payne, Dalzell and Grosvenor.

Roosevelt put the question squarely up to them as to whether there should be an extra session for tariff revision. All hesitated to declare themselves. Then Platt spoke up. He said there was no necessity for tariff revision and that it would be very bad policy to have an extra session. Cannon in a very few words agreed with Platt. The others still said nothing.

"The consensus of opinion," said Roosevelt, with more than the ordinary facial expression which he used with much effect, "seems to be against an extra session, and there will be none."

John H. Mitchell of Oregon and Joe Burton of Kansas, both Senators, were caught violating an old forgotten statute about this time, and driven out of public life, Burton to jail and Mitchell to his death. By taking fees to practice before Federal departments they came within the clutches of the law, and very zealous district attorneys and their assistants, together with scores of

sleuths, who began to swarm about all departments in those days, saw to it that these two men were not given even the benefit of doubt or favor. Mitchell was one of the best "news men" I ever knew in the Senate. He would get a newspaper man out of bed at night to give him a story, and more than that he would hunt him up and tell him what was going on in the Senate, particularly after one of those awfully secretive sessions.

Admission of new states again became an important issue in Congress. A bill was introduced which provided for joining Oklahoma and Indian Territory as one state and New Mexico and Arizona as another. The majority of the Republicans were in favor of the two-state plan and the bill was passed, but not until after Senator Foraker had insisted on an amendment providing that the bill should not be operative as to joining the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona as one state unless the people of each Territory by a vote consented to the union. This defeated the bill, for Arizona voted against the union.

That act of Foraker was the beginning of the differences between the President and the Ohio Senator. Roosevelt was anxious to have the two-state bill passed because it relieved him of a troublesome problem. Many of his Rough Riders were in the Territories, and they wanted the party platforms promising statehood redeemed.

There was one bright spot in the statehood debate. That was a speech by Senator Bailey of Texas when an allusion was made to the right of Texas to be divided

into five states if she should so vote. "Texas," he said, concluding a brilliant oration, "could apportion nearly everything to five different states, but she could not divide the fadeless glory of those days that have passed and gone. To whom could she bequeath the name of Houston, or the inheritance of Goliad, the Alamo or San Jacinto, or the deathless immortality of Fannin, of Bowie, and of Crockett!"

Those who heard or those who may have read that speech never for a moment can believe that the day will ever come when Texas shall be divided.

Hanna, Quay and Hoar, three Senators who died in 1904, made real vacancies in the Senate, no matter what ability their successors possessed.

Of the three Hoar was the least of a politician and the greatest statesman. He had been an active partisan in his earlier days, and was frequently a delegate to national conventions. He was a member of the famous Electoral Commission in 1877, which declared Hayes President.

In the Senate Hoar was a law unto himself. He had no regard for the rights of others when it came to interruptions or interference with what they were doing. In his later years he was irascible and crabbed. He did not have many friends in the Senate, but his great ability was recognized by his associates. He was somewhat childish at times, as on one occasion when he used his influence to have a street car conductor discharged who had offered to help him alight from a car. Hoar resented the implication that he was old and feeble.

At times he rose to great heights. One notable occasion was when Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota attacked New England. I can't imagine what induced Pettigrew to make such a break, for he was a shrewd man. Without any apparent reason this man from the West, who was a native of Vermont, assailed New England in the most vigorous language. Perhaps it was because New England Senators had been criticizing western treatment of the Indians. Pettigrew assailed the early Puritans, not only for their treatment of the Indians, but for burning witches.

When he concluded it appeared by unanimous consent that Hoar should make the reply, and he did it in a masterly manner. It was not exactly a "skinning," but more of a stinging rebuke on a high and lofty plane, a scathing reply to an unprovoked attack upon a great people. Speaking of Indian outrages and witch burning, Hoar acknowledged that they occurred. "It was a cruel and inhuman thing to do," he said, "but we must remember that these things occurred two hundred years ago and recollect the rapid strides towards a greater civilization since that time." His tribute to New England, the men she had produced, and what she has done for the country, was one of those sublime—almost inspired—utterances which leave a lasting impression on the mind.

Senator Hoar never could reconcile himself to expansion. Like Thomas B. Reed, he believed the acquisition of Hawaii and the Philippines was a mistake which would plague the country for generations. He, like

Reed, was strong enough to stand out against the majority of his party.

He was a man of ability and learning, and in spite of his irascibility, his abrupt manners, his domineering attitude and methods, one of the great men of his time.

Theodore Roosevelt was born a patrician; he acquired his democracy by a desire to do something for the people. But his natural affiliation for people of his own class was revealed at official and semi-official functions during his Administration, and in his social intimacies. At the White House receptions, to which, as always, thousands of invitations were issued, certain marked distinctions were apparent. Heavy silk cords were stretched across the doors of the smaller reception rooms, at each of which a man in uniform stood guard, and only special guests were permitted to enter. These included the diplomats, higher government officials, ranking officers of the army and navy, persons of wealth or prominence in the financial and social world, or of special attainments in other fields. The lesser lights were passed into the East Room, whence they might wander down the long corridor, and gaze through the doorways at the especially honored. This division of the guests caused a good deal of resentment and some amusement. It undoubtedly made the White House receptions more exclusive in effect, but it also made the general assembly far less brilliant.

Another innovation was the detailing of military aides to the Chief Magistrate. Wherever the President appeared at official or social functions, or at the theatre,

he was closely attended by two or more officers of the army, navy, or marine corps in uniform. At this time, too, the *Mayflower* was refitted and converted to the President's use as his official yacht.

The elevation of Roosevelt to the Presidency, moreover, attracted to the Capital many very rich New Yorkers, whose elaborate and ostentatious scale of living completely transformed Washington society. An effort was made, with some measure of success, to establish certain features of Court etiquette; for example, that an invitation to the White House was a command; and altogether, entertainments both in and out of the White House took on a spectacular formality that departed radically from the traditional simplicity of former years.

Most of the innovations of the Roosevelt administration were retained by his successors, though there has been a gradual tendency to return to the less pretentious forms of previous administrations.

During the McKinley administration a popular White House custom was discontinued. This was the semi-weekly reception to the general public in the East Room. Visitors to the National Capital knew that twice each week all who desired could present themselves at the White House and, passing in line, shake hands with the Chief Magistrate of the nation. Harrison and Cleveland, cold and austere as they were regarded, went through the formality with becoming dignity, affording much pleasure to strangers in the Capital City. McKinley continued the custom until

the Spanish war, and then excused himself on account of a pressure of business. The custom was not revived under President Roosevelt and his successors. By special arrangement large delegations and groups of visitors sometimes have an opportunity to see and shake hands with the President, but no one is ever sure of that privilege, and even after arrangements are made they may be canceled.

The democratic side of President Roosevelt was shown by his interest in all sorts and conditions of men. He might entertain a financier, a scientist, or an ecclesiastic one day, and the next a guide from the Maine woods or a cowboy from the western plains would be his guest. He delighted in men who did things, the men of nerve who performed what he called a great service. He always went forward and shook hands with the engineer and the fireman of a train after a ride on a railroad, because these men every day were responsible for many lives.

About this time Roosevelt put forth his ideas upon race suicide in no uncertain terms and arraigned the men and women who shirked parenthood. It was not long after that I learned his point of view on the subject by asking him:

"Have you any sympathy, any feeling whatever, for the great middle-class of humanity?"

"How can you ask me?" he inquired rather indignantly, by way of reply. "What does such a question mean?"

"Because you have a taste for the aristocratic, for

wealth and position, which you gratify. Then there is the taste or fancy which you show for Bill Jones the guide, Bat Smith the former bad man, and those of a more lowly and less virile though picturesque type. But there is a great middle-class living on incomes of from $1,500 to $5,000 a year whom you do not take into account. They must give their children advantages; they must maintain a level not far below that of the richer class with whom they come in contact. With your race suicide and big family ideas these people cannot keep afloat."

It was the longest speech I ever heard President Roosevelt listen to in conversation, and then he gave me what was his real idea about race suicide.

"If every married couple does not have two children the race will run out," he said. "They can raise three with but little more expense than two. And it is their duty to maintain the American race."

In the course of further conversation when it was shown that never in his life had he been deprived of any comfort for himself or any member of his family, that he never had known what it meant to want, but to be unable to provide, those things which make for the health and happiness of loved ones, I then understood that there was a gulf between Theodore Roosevelt and the vast majority of the people of the world. The man who has never longed for something beyond the reach of his purse cannot fully understand the handicap of those whose condition is less fortunate. Roosevelt understood better than most men who have

been spared the necessity of earning a living, but he never quite realized the trials of those who have to struggle to maintain their families, and who can ill afford to increase their responsibilities.

Long in advance of the national convention of 1908, Roosevelt was considering different men as possible candidates for the nomination, and it was believed that he looked with favor upon his Secretary of War. On March 17, 1905, John R. Thayer, a Democratic Congressman from Massachusetts, said that Roosevelt had picked Taft for the Presidential succession. And yet many times Taft was undecided, particularly when there was a vacancy on the Supreme Court bench. If the Chief Justice had died or retired, Taft might have chosen that office instead of the Presidency. While Taft was in his indecisive mood Chief Justice Fuller gave a dinner to the President and a number of prominent officials. As the guests passed out of the dining room into the library, the President paused before a newly painted and youngish looking portrait of the Chief Justice, and exclaimed in a voice heard by everybody:

"Here, Will, look at this. Judging by appearances it looks as if you might have to wait a long time."

Secretary Taft was very much before the public during the year 1905. On one of Roosevelt's many trips he said that he had "left Taft sitting on the lid." As the Secretary weighed nearly 300 pounds at that time the President's quip caused many jesting comments. Not only was Taft frequently left "sitting

on the lid," but he made the famous trip to the Philippines with a large number of Senators and Congressmen. He felt called upon to deny that the trip was a junket, for so it was generally considered by the newspapers. He also was compelled to deny a statement that he was a candidate for President, and was campaigning for the nomination.

The feature of the Philippine trip which is most generally remembered is that the President's daughter, Miss Alice Roosevelt, and Hon. Nicholas Longworth became engaged to be married during its progress. Congressman Swagar Sherley of Kentucky and Congressman W. Bourke Cockran, members of the party, also became engaged to young women who were among the guests. Taft was often called Cupid's agent on account of these three matrimonial results of the trip.

Miss Roosevelt was received everywhere in the Orient as a princess of a royal family. It was then that she acquired the title, "Princess Alice."

In the summer of 1905 President Roosevelt became a peacemaker. He brought Russia and Japan together when they seemed tired of war, or exhausted financially, and by dint of earnest persuasion brought about the peace of Portsmouth, for which he was awarded the Nobel peace prize, as the greatest peacemaker of the world.

The attitude of the American people during that war seems remarkable. Apparently the sympathies of this nation were with Japan. The attitude of the Govern-

ment is accounted for by the influence of Secretary Hay. Great Britain was Japan's ally and Hay was inclined to England. Besides, his relations with Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador to this country, were such as to cause him to have a deep feeling against everything Russian.

As to the country as a whole it seems rather strange that the prejudice should have been against Russia and in favor of Japan. Russia had been our only foreign friend in the most perilous time of our history. Japan, even in 1905, was a menace to our commerce and power in the Pacific. But the treatment of the Jews in Russia explains the attitude of our people. Jewish influence was strong enough to sway the voice of the nation in favor of the Japanese.

John Hay did not live long enough to see the consummation of the peace proposals. A short time before he left Washington for the last time a newspaper man inquired about his health.

"I am not well," he replied, "I am suffering from an incurable disease."

"What is it, Mr. Secretary?" anxiously inquired the newspaper man.

"Old age," replied Mr. Hay.

He would have his grim joke, even when the hand of death was upon him.

Elihu Root came back into public life as Secretary of State, a position in which he had the opportunity to add luster to the nation he served so well.

On account of his many speeches on the subject there

was no doubt that President Roosevelt intended to insist upon railroad rate legislation. With a view of preventing any such legislation, the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee held protracted hearings during the summer of 1905, and amassed volumes of testimony to show that there was no necessity for further rate regulation, and that Congress could not delegate the power to the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix rates.

All the railroad managers of the country appeared and told the committee the railroad situation. Shippers were also heard. One interesting witness was Governor Cummins of Iowa. Another was James J. Hill, the empire builder of the Northwest. Hill told the committee that the Panama Canal would never be a serious competitor of the railroads, even in trans-Pacific traffic, because we were at the beginning of an age when time would be a most essential feature of commerce, and that fast freights across the continent to the North Pacific ports would reach the Orient far in advance of the steamers by way of Panama.

The year of 1905 is remembered as one of Presidential denunciations. Mr. Roosevelt never hesitated to denounce certain people collectively, but in later years he denounced people individually, and the victim of such a denunciation was usually discredited in the country. Herbert Bowen, who had been Minister to Venezuela, Chief Engineer Wallace of the Panama Canal Commission, and a man named Holmes in the Agricultural Department, were among those who felt the Presidential displeasure at that time.

Another was Henry M. Whitney of Massachusetts. Whitney went to see the President and then went forth and told what the President had said in regard to the tariff. Whitney was denounced as a man unworthy of confidence and respect.

"I will not permit any man to go from the White House and say that I have said this or that," Mr. Roosevelt once explained to me. "I see hundreds of men each day, and they say many things to me, and I make many references. There can be no conclusion as to a policy or probable action of the Administration in such conversation, and no man should feel free to go forth and quote his construction of a chance remark, or what he thinks I said. What I have to say to the public will be in public speeches, messages to Congress, or proclamations. No man can become my mouthpiece. I reserve the right to deny any statement attributed to me in these personal conversations."

The men who knew Roosevelt best never presumed to quote him or give him as authority for any statement. No man knew better than Roosevelt that public opinion was somewhat fickle and that the people could change.

For a number of years after he became President certain theoretical people used to go to Roosevelt and outline very plausible propositions relating to government affairs. They would urge him to incorporate their theories in his message to Congress.

"I'll do it; that is a splendid idea," he would say.

A few weeks after, in outlining his message to practical members of his Cabinet or chairmen of committees

in Congress, he would be told that the suggestions were not feasible. Upon further explanation he would see that he had been the victim of theorists and would make no mention of their projects. Those who had told friends that the President would make certain recommendations were placed in an awkward position. If their statements had become public they were much embarrassed.

There is this much to say regarding the truthfulness of public officials—for I am coming to the formation of the celebrated "Ananias Club" very soon—and that is, that officials are often placed in the embarrassing position in which the straight truth cannot be told, and evasive answers, or refusal to answer, will not meet the purpose. After many years of experience I can say that there are mighty few public men who will not avail themselves of denials, evasions, and deliberate misstatements, when the test comes and the affairs of state make it imperative that they take a course which may for the moment crush truth to the earth.

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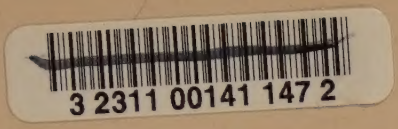
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